







*Raw Little Red Rover;*  
ON THE

**Life & Death**  
OF THE  
Right Honourable  
**ANTHONY**  
Late EARL of  
**SHAFTSBURY.**

---

Humbly Dedicated to the Protestant Lords.

---

*By Philanax Misopappas.*

---

*Virtut i Pompeij quæ potest Par Oratio inveniri ? CICERO.*

---

**L O N D O N,**  
Printed for *Thomas Maltus* at the Sun  
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RAVLTOTHE

Most Illustrious and High born Prince

James Duke of Monmouth

And to the Right Honourable  
Arthur Duke of Kent

of Huntingdon

ford James Earl of Salisbury

per Earl of Glouc

Stamford Robert Earl of Sunder-

land Arthur Earl of Essex Charles

Earl of Macclesfield Charles Viscount

Mordant Philip Lord Wharton Wil-

liam Lord Paget Lord Grey of

Warr John Lord Powel Henry

Lord Herbert of Cheshire Charles

Lord Cornwall Thomas Lord Crew

Wolmer

Lord rejecting the impeachment of Ed-

ward Fitz-Harris and generously assisted

the Government to suppress any sub-

ject whatsoever

Great Sir

He following

offered to your lordships

and for which the Author

your Patronage is a great

yet true and impartial History of

A

the

TO THE  
Most Illustrious and High-born Prince  
**James Duke of Monmouth,**

And to the Right Honourable  
Anthony *Earl of Kent*, Theophilus *Earl*  
*of Huntingdon*, William *Earl of Bed-*  
*ford*, James *Earl of Salisbury*, Gil-  
bert *Earl of Clare*, Thomas *Earl of*  
*Stamford*, Robert *Earl of Sunder-*  
*land*, Arthur *Earl of Essex*, Charles  
*Earl of Mordaunt*, Charles *Viscount*  
*Mordaunt*, Philip *Lord Wharton*, Wil-  
liam *Lord Pagett*, Ford *Lord Grey of*  
*Wark*, John *Lord Lovelace*, Henry  
*Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, Charles  
*Lord Cornwallis*, Thomas *Lord Crew*,  
Who enter'd their Protestation against the  
Lords rejecting the Impeachment of Ed-  
ward Fitz-Harris, and generously asserted  
the Commons Right to Impeach any Sub-  
ject whatsoever.

Great Sir,

THE following Tract, humbly  
offered to your Lordships,  
and for which the Author implores  
your Patronage, is a brief, but  
yet true and impartial History of

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

the Life and Policies, the Rise and Fortunes, Troubles and Exit of the late Earl of Shaftsbury, whose great Actions, constant Loyalty, and successful Councils, certainly are worthy the transmitting to Posterity; for whose sake, as well as the vindicating his Name and Honour from the bold and confident, although ridiculous and groundless Calumnies wherewith the Roman *Achitophels* have maliciously aspersed him. I have endeavour'd to Decipher him, and draw his Image according to the best of my skill, although infinitely below his Deserts; which justly merit the being pourtray'd by a more skillful hand; and one whole extraordinary acquirements, and admirable proficiency in Politicks, renders capable of representing his Lordships wonderful Parts and Abilities, in the most apt and lively Touches.

Espe-

*The Poetical Dedicatory.*

Especially in regard the malice of  
his Enemies hath somewhat de-  
stroy'd his best Feature, and un-  
gratefully sullied the most Beau-  
tiful and Loyalest of his Actions.

My Lord, It was the extraordinary  
Endowments wherewith this Earl  
was enrich'd, that drew upon him  
so much Envy, and swell'd his Ad-  
versaries to such an height of Ma-  
lice and Fury; fearing lest he  
might prove their Rival, and ac-  
quire a greater Interest in the Fa-  
vour of his Sovereign, then they  
were willing he should. Or else  
it was his imitation of the magna-  
nicious Roman, who being Com-  
manded by the Emperor to for-  
bear coming to the Senate, and  
threaten'd with Imprisonment if  
he presumed to appear in that As-  
sembly, boldly answer'd, *You may  
do as you will, but I must do as I  
ought.* Nor had ever any Man  
A 3 larger

*The Epistle Dedicatorie*

larger Experience (then his Lordship) of the truth and reality of what the famous Sir *Walter Raleigh* so long since wisely observed, That he who follows Truth too near at the Heels, may have his Teeth struck out thereby; and that he who goes after her, oft loseth her sight and himself too.

Most Noble Patriots, I acknowledge that it is no small persecution of your Illustrious Greatness, to be thus troubled with the impertinent Address of one so much below you. And am very sensible, that the Generosity and good Nature of persons, who, like yourselves, shine with Glory and Splendor in a superiour Orb, frequently draw upon them unnecessary and needless Dedications. And therefore I should not have been guilty of presuming to fix your Honourable Names to any title of mine, had

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

had not the nature of the thing  
had a kind of necessity upon me,  
and furnished me with an unan-  
swerable Argument and sufficient  
Apology for so doing.

*May it please your Lordships,* You  
are all under the same Circum-  
stances, and you have (like him)  
adventur'd to stem the Stream,  
and dared to be Virtuous, when  
to be wicked and debauch'd is in  
Fashion: And have presumed to  
be Loyal, under the disadvantage  
of exposing your selves thereby to  
the malice and rage of a sort of  
Men, who with an Hellish Indus-  
try have long endeavour'd to Me-  
tamorphise your very Virtues into  
Vices, and Transubstantiate your  
Loyalty into a Crime. You have  
with a firm resolution and un-  
daunted courage, opposed in the  
very face of danger, the ambi-  
tious and growing designs of a

## The Epistle Dedicatorie.

dy and malicious Crew, who have  
Burned our City, Assassinated our  
Magistrates, Forged Shambles,  
and invented Meal-Tub Conspira-  
cies to ruine our Nobility and Gend-  
ry. And if Divine Goodness had  
not protected us, and disappointed  
them, would have murdered our  
Soveraign, Massacred our Persons,  
Extirpated our Religion, Plundered  
our Houses, seized our Estates,  
trampled upon our Laws, enslaved  
our Wives and Children, and sub-  
jected our Posterity to a Bondage  
infinitely worse then that of Egypt.  
And whatsoever is Sacred and  
Dear to us as English Men or  
Christians, must have been sacri-  
ficed to their Revenge; for the sa-  
tisfying whereof, and to give vent  
to their fury, they would have  
turn'd the Paradise of the World  
into an Acheldama.

And



*The Terrible Discovery.*

And moreover, my Lords, his Enquiries are your Enemies, his Reproaches are all directed at and against you - You were all to be involved in the same Guilt and made Parties in the same pretended Conspiracy. And You were by an imaginary Power (derived from that infallible Pop the Pope) all condemned to the same Fate, in the secret Consults and private Cabals of Rome, as appears by the Scheme found in the Meal-Tub, and afterwards more fully discovered by Mr. Dangerfield. Nor is it unworthy Your consideration, that the time when that cursed Conspiracy was hatching, and some Circumstances in the management thereof, renders it not altogether improbable, that it derived its Original from you. And was engaged in, upon the success of a certain Story; upon the account whereof, the  
bna  
greatest

*The Epistle Dedicatory.*

greatest of You stands at this day  
strip'd of all Your Honorary  
Places.

But that which further encour-  
rag'd me to make this Address to  
*Your Lordships*, was, Your being  
his intimate Acquaintance and  
constant Companions, his familiar  
Friends, and only Associates, with  
whom he maintained an exact  
Correspondence, and almost daily  
conversed withal; whereby You  
must necessarily be better acquaint-  
ed with, and have a clearer pro-  
spect of the Principles and Temper,  
Designs and Inclinations of his  
Lordship, than any of his detrac-  
tors can possibly pretend to. Since  
many of them never had any  
personal knowledge of, and much  
less intimate Acquaintance with  
him; and most of them never saw  
him in their Lives. Nor have many  
of his Accusers, notwithstanding  
their

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

their formal and confident charging  
him with Treason, ever born a  
Part, or made a Figure large enough  
in the World to procure them admit-  
tance for his Person, or imbolden  
them to appear in his presence, or so  
much as exchange two words with  
him in their whole Lives. You  
know his Loyal Behaviour towards  
and constant cleaving to the Inter-  
est of his Sovereign; and are sur-  
viving Testimonies of the extra-  
ordinary Reverence and profound  
Veneration wherewith he always  
made mention of His Majesty,  
whenever you had occasion to  
speak of him in Your publick or  
private Discourses; nor can You  
have forgotten his frequent lamen-  
ting his own unhappiness, in being  
so strangely mis-represented to  
His Majesty.  
And, may it please Your Lord-  
ship, as Heaven has been so  
pro-

**The Epistle Dedicatorie.**

propitious to the Earl to remove  
him far above the reach of his  
Enemies Fury, so I am fully  
assured, that the same Almighty  
Power will always protect your  
Lives and Honours from the direct  
eff. &c. of Raviſh Policy, and all  
the Jesuitical Crafts and subtle  
Artifices of the Antichristian Crew.  
And render the implacable malice  
of those, whom all intelligent Men  
begin now to see are Your Enemies  
without cause, unable to  
effect any thing to Your prejudice.  
And make it serve only as a File  
to set off the Glory of Your  
Loyalty, or like an Eclipse to the  
Sun, make the Lustre of Your  
Innocence appear to the whole  
World with the more Brightness  
and Splendour; or at least, enable  
You to take an extraordinary pleasure  
and satisfaction in the delightful  
contemplation, That Your  
Name

• The Epistle Dedicatory.

Names shall live when theirs are  
dead, and survive with Honour,  
while theirs with Infamy and  
Shame shall be buried in Oblivion;  
and that the remembrance of your  
virtues shall be to all succeeding  
Ages, as Odoriferous as the Ara-  
biank Spices, and the exhila-  
rating Perfumes of *Arabia*, or the  
delightful fragrancy which natu-  
rally flows in the Months of *April*  
and *May* from a Garden of *Roses*:  
When the remembrance of their  
wicked and treacherous Enter-  
prises shall be nauseous and offen-  
sive to all Men.

But the Fabrick being so small,  
I must not suffer the entrance  
into it to exceed an equal pro-  
portion; nor by enlarging my  
praises of the deceased Earl,  
unreasonably detain your Lordships  
too long from the Harmony of his  
Actions; the Reviewing whereof  
afford

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

afford abundantly more delight  
and satisfaction than any thing  
I am able to say, in his commen-  
dation can probably yield. And  
therefore (wishing your Lord-  
ships may long shine as Stars in  
our *British* Hemisphere, and in  
conjunction with our glorious  
Sun, send forth such Illustrious  
Beams and powerful Rayes, as  
may effectually dispel those fable  
Clouds which have so long over-  
spread and darkened our Island.)  
I commend Your Lordships to the  
protection of him that sits in the  
Heavens, and laughs at the *Ma-  
chivilian* Plots of Rome, and sees  
and derides all their subtile Em-  
terpriles; hoping he will graci-  
ously defend you from all impen-  
ding dangers, by hiding you in  
the hollow of his Hand, and un-  
der the shadow of his Wing.  
And humbly beg you would put

## The Epistle Dedicatory.

a candid construction upon my  
presuming so rudely to obtrude a  
Dedication upon you; and intreat  
a favourable Acceptance of the  
mean and incongruous Present of  
him who is really ambitious to  
subscribe himself,

*Your Lordships,*

*Most humble, most obedient,  
and most devoted Servant,*

**S. N.**

**RAW.**

The Epistle Dedicatory.

him who is really ambitious to  
attain and inconspicuous friend of  
a favourable Acceptance of the  
Education upon you; and interest  
a candid construction upon my  
subscribing himself

Two People

2000  
2001

22

-W.A.T.



RA W L E I G H

**R e d i v i b u s :**

Or, the

**S T A T E** Polititian ;

**B E I N G**

An Historical Account of the  
Life and Death of that Wise  
and Loyal States-man, *Anthony*  
*Earl of Shaftsbury.*

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**P A R T I.**

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**S**Tate Policy is a kind of Heavenly Knowledge, which is by God and Nature locked up as a sacred Jewel in a few very rare Cabinets, purposely framed and designed for that use by the all wise God, and is so essential to the peace and flourishing condition of a Nation that we ought to pay it all the reverence and veneration imaginable, and account it too sacred

cred to be exposed and prostituted to the view of base and vulgar eyes.

But as the best things converted into putrefaction, are the most nauseous and hurtful, so this Noble and Angelical Science hath been strangely abused by some fordid pretenders to it. And every Age hath produced some *Achitophels*, who have abused the divine treasure bestowed upon them by the great *Jehovah*, for the Service of their Country, and the promoting the Civil and Sacred Interest of the Common-wealth wherein they live, by making it only subserviant to their base and wicked ends. These are a sort of men that have indeed the Wisdom of the Serpent (but not a Dove-like innocency) and can, like him, clothe all their cursed Designs and Hellish Machinations, whereby they intend the ruin of their Prince, the Religion they pretend to own and practice, together with the famous and flourishing Kingdom wherein they live (unhappy in nothing so much as the producing such unnatural and ungrateful Animals) with subtil and specious pretences of Loyalty, Prerogative,

tive, Decency and Order, and what not; accounting Heaven and future bliss a meer bubble, and the checks of Conscience too inconsiderable a trifle to impede, sacrificing all that is Sacred to Ambition, and aspire to Wealth and Grandeur by others ruine and destruction; ~~face~~ if the Great *Alexander*, the Conquering Pomp, or the Victorious *Cesar*, had boggled at invading other Mens *Rights*, they could never have obtain'd so much Renown and Glory. Nor had their Names swelled or looked so big in the Rolls of Fame. Whilst the honest Politician is the *Atlas* of the falling State, cures her when sick, cements it when dis-joynted, meets her in her several Emergencies with suitable reliefs: And like a skilful Pilate, manages the Helm with such skill and dexterity, that he carries her safely through all perplexing intricacies, and secures her in the Harbour of Peace and Tranquility, where she Rides free from the danger of those boisterous Storms that threatened her Ruine.

Such an one was *Philip de Comines* to *Lewis XI.* and *Cromwell* to *Henry 8.* Such was *Burleigh* to our late Protestant Queen; whose sedate Councils, like a

sacred Oracle, very much influenced the prosperity of her Raign ; which was so extraordinary, that no History affords a paralel : and future Ages will read her happy Annals with a Divine Wonder. And such an one was our paralel, the ingenious Sir *Walter Rawleigh* to King *James* ; for whom he did several eminent pieces of Service, as well in order to the bringing him to, and placing him upon the *English* Throne, as afterwards. Notwithstanding which, he was so unhappy as to lose the Favour of his Prince, and be abandoned, to the rage and malice of his Enemies.

And such an one was the unparell'd *Shaftesbury*, whose Policy was always founded upon the solid Basis of Piety and Judgment ; upon which firm Foundation he endeavour'd to raise the admirable superstructure of Royal Government in the Prince, free from all manner of Arbitrary severity, and a willing subjection in the People, without any kind of force or compunction ; so uniting the Interest of the Governour with that of the governed, and knitting both with such reciprocal mixtures, that the welfare of the one might be unavoidably involv'd in the good of the other ;

other 3. That Majesty might be maintained in its just Splendour, and the Royal Prerogatives of the Crown preserved from suffering any kind of diminution: And yet the Liberty of the Subject remain, and Property be no way infringed or violated.

In a word, his Wisdom in contriving the peaceable Restoration of his Majesty to his Crown and Kingdom, his sagacity in Counselling whilst in that capacity, his Faithfulness in the discharge of places of Trust, his exact Administration of Justice to his Fellow Subjects, his Loyalty and Obedience to his Majesty at all times, his invincible Patience under the Calumnies wherewith he was unjustly loaded. His Charity, Affability, &c. when it shall be conveyed by History to the knowledge of the following Ages, it will procure him such a just and deserved Esteem, that they will be ready to Adore him, and wonder at our stupidity; and make them with a disdainful abhorrence reflect upon our Folly, in slighting such an inestimable Treasure.

This Great and Illustrious Peer was Nobly descended from the two Ancient Families of the *Coopers* and *Ashleys*, being Son and Heir to Sir *John Cooper of Rock-*

born in the County of *Wilts*, by *Ann* his Wife, Daughter and sole Heir to Sir *Anthony Ashley* of *Wimborn St. Giles* in the County of *Dorset*, Knight and Baronet. For which reason he was call'd *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, thereby to bear up the name of his Mothers Family as well as his Fathers; which would otherwise have been extinct. He was Born in the Month of *July*, *Anno Dom. 1621*. being the 19th year of the Reign of King *James*.

At his Baptism his Mother desir'd Sir *Anthony Ashly* to stand for Godfather; which he willingly consented to, and having no more Children but that Daughter, named him *Anthony Ashley* for the aforesaid reason.

Great care was taken in the Education of this young branch of Honour, who was to enjoy the Fountains, and maintain the Honour and Name of two such Rich and Illustrious Families; his Father being worth about Eight Thousand Pounds *per Annum*. So that he was not raised from a mean Fortune, as some of his Adversaries would maliciously perswade the World, but born to a large one. In his very Childhood his Activity, quick Apprehension, and ready Wit,

Wit, made an early discovery (even at that tender Age) of those extraordinary parts wherewith God and Nature had so liberally enriched his capacious Soul. He had a natural inclination to Learning ; wherein he made such a surprising Progress, that it was the wonder and amazement of all that knew him ; and his Father, to encourage and improve those pregnant Parts wherewith this happy Youth was blest, sent him to the University of *Oxford*, and placed him in *Trinity-Colledge*, under the care of an Ingenious and Learned Tutor : where neglecting all things that served only for idle and vain speculations, and denying himself that Liberty which other Youths allowed themselves for Recreation, he fell to those Studies that were more useful and necessary, and tended to fit and prepare him for the serving his King and Country in any employment or capacity whatsoever ; which he followed so hard, and made such an unusual progress therein, that it is almost incredible ; so that every one admired him : and he was by all Men accounted the most prodigious Youth in the whole University. And those who knew him, began to believe, that what

had been predicted of him by a *German* Gentleman, might in time prove true.

This Gentleman being a Protestant, and Persecuted upon that account, left *Germany*, and fled to *England* for succour ; and falling by accident into the company of Sir *John Cooper* : Sir *John* being an Hospitable Gentleman, especially to those that were sufferers upon the account of the True Religion, gave him an Invitation to his House ; which the Gentleman accepting, went accordingly : and was entertain'd by Sir *John* with abundance of Respect and Generosity for a considerable time. The Gentleman was extremely pleased with his Entertainment in general ; but was more especially delighted with that pleasant and unexpected Diversion which the extraordinary Parts of his young Son afforded him. And would frequently (after having entertained him with various, difficult and intricate Discourses, which required the most mature and profoundest Judgment to determine ; wherein he always found him so ready and expert, that it exceeds all belief) say to Sir *John*, I can do no less than contemplate your Felicity in this Son, and almost envy you the happiness.



piness. He is certainly the Phoenix of his Age. I find him endow'd with such a deep Judgment and capacious Understanding, that I am confident, if he live to years of Maturity, he will be the profoundest Politician, and the most prodigious States-man that ever this Nation did produce. But more especially once directing himself to the young Gentleman; he spake to the effect following, as if guided thereto by some strange and unaccountable impulse; and if we compare it with the circumstances of this Lords Life, it will appear to be prophetick.

Child, said he, ( as it was his custom to call him ) if thou wilt be Religious, and keep close to God, and take care to avoid the vain and distractive allurements of Prophaneness and Debauchery, and entertain a fixed resolution to improve all thy Parts and Abilities for the advancing the Protestant ( and the prejudice of the *Romish* ) Religion, you shall be a Man of the largest Parts in Christendom, and shall be an instrument of doing an extraordinary piece of Service to your Prince, which shall be very acceptable to him; whereupon you shall stand high in his Favour, and be promoted

moted to very great Honour : yet should afterwards lose the Princes Favour, and be as much dis-respected as before Honoured and Admired ; yet at the same time you shall be one of the most Popular Men under Heaven, &c. And that you may know that this will fall out according to my Prediction, pray remember this that I am now going to tell you, and Write it down in your Pocket-book, that you may not forget it. Not long after your coming from the University, you shall be in extreme danger of Drowning ; telling him the very day when it should happen.

Whereupon, although he gave no extraordinary credit to these Predictions, yet having a great Love and Veneration for the Gentleman, upon the account of his Piety and Wisdom, he endeavoured to the uttermost of his power (as much as possible, to avoid the Watery Element.

When he had spent some years at the University, he was removed from *Trinity Colledge* to *Grays-Inn* ; where, with the like pains and industry, he applied himself to the Study of the Law : in the knowledge whereof, he arrived at such Perfection, that several Judicious Men  
and

and great Lawyers did affirm, That he understood the nature of our *Britanick* Laws and ancient Customs and Constitutions of the Kingdom, as well (if not better) than any Man living; and could express himself with so much Eloquence, and deliver his Sentiments of things with so much clearness and smoothness, interwoven with such convincing Arguments, deduced from Philosophy and Reason, that there was a perfect harmony in his words.

Whilst he was at *Grays-Inn*, he appointed to go with several young Gentlemen of his Acquaintance to *Greenwich* by Water: but when he was upon the Stairs going to take Boat, ( some of his company being already in the Boat ) it came suddenly into his Mind, that that was the day whereof the Gentleman had foretold him; and pausing a little, he remembered several circumstances that confirm'd him therein: the Gentlemen who were in the Boat seeing him to stand in a study, and make no haste into the Boat, they called to him to come away. Gentlemen, said he, I intreat you to excuse my going with you; for I now call to mind some extraordinary business, which obliges me to stay in Town. But  
his

his company was too pleasant to be so easily relinquish'd : wherefore one of them stepping out of the Boat, endeavoured by his importunity to alter his resolution, and perswade him to go with them according to his first intention ; but being not able to prevail, he protested he would carry him into the Boat if he would not go willingly : so that being unwilling to disoblige them, he adventur'd to go, although with much reluctance. As they were shooting the Bridge, it being low Water, the force of the Ebb carried their Boat with such violence against a Loyter that was just gone through before them, that she sunk ; but several Boats presently making towards them, they were all sav'd : however, their design for Bowling at *Greenwich* was spoiled for that day.

Having spent some considerable time in the Inns of Court, his Relations began to think of disposing of him in Marriage ; and a suitable Match was enquired after, that might answer the largeness of his Fortune. At length a Marriage is agreed ( by the consent of both Families ) between him and *Margaret*, Daughter to *Thomas Lord Coventry*, sometime Lord Keeper of the Great

Seal

Seal of *England* : whose agreeable Conversation render'd his Life the more pleasant and delightful. He had no Issue by this Wife.

His second Wife was the Lady *Frances*, Daughter to the Earl of *Exeter* ; by whom he had Issue his only Son and Heir, *Anthony* Lord *Ashly*, now Earl of *Shaftesbury* ; who married the virtuous and ingenious Lady, the Lady *Dorothy*, Daughter to *John* Earl of *Rutland* ; by whom he hath Issue two Sons ; *Anthony* a Youth of about Twelve years of Age, extreamly like his Grandfather, both for Person and Parts ; for which reason he was so dear to him, that his Life seemed to be bound up in this Grandsons, as *Jacobs* was said to be in his Son *Benjamin's*.

His last Wife was *Margaret*, Daughter to *William* Lord *Spencer*, a most accomplished and Virtuous Lady ; whose exemplary Piety is so extraordinary, that she may very well be proposed as a pattern for other Noble Personages to imitate ; her constant custom being to rise by Five of the Clock in the Morning, and she usually spends two or three hours there in her private Devotions.

No sooner did the Fame of his great Abilities reach the Royal Ear, but his late Majesty cast a favourable Eye upon him, employing him in several eminent Services; which he performed with an exact Loyalty, to the satisfaction of his Majesty; from whose Interest he never departed, otherwise then as *Hushai* from King *David*, when the Tribes of *Israel* revolted from him, in order to the using his Interest for the Service of his Prince, and endeavour by his Wisdom and Counsel so to order and influence the Councils and Designs of the Conspirators, that they might be the less hurtful to his Sovereign, and tend to the overthrow of themselves. And it is admirable to contemplate with what dexterous Skill and exquisite Policy he so managed all their Councils, as to makethem run directly towards, and naturally tend to swell the Royal Stream; which immediately upon their Ebb, flowed so suddenly and swiftly, that like a swelling Sea, it easily overflowed all those Banks which were cast up to impede its Flux; and by its irresistible force, bore down all before it, until at last it terminated in the full Tide of his Majesties Restoration. Like the Generous *Hushai*,  
never

never resting until he saw his Ejected Sovereign, like the glorious Sun, newly escaped from a total Eclipse, return to the possession of his Crown and Kingdom.

His Majesty having *December 3. 1639.* upon the advice of the Earl of *Straford*, and Marquess of *Hamilton*, and Doctor *Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, declared his resolution for the calling a Parliament. After 11 years interval, he was (by the unanimous consent of the Inhabitants of the Borough of *Tewkesbury* in *Gloucester-shire*, chosen to serve as Burgesses for that Town; Sir *Edward Alford* being chosen for the other. On *Monday April 13. 1640.* this Parliament opened; and were acquainted by his Majesty, That he thought never any King had greater cause to call his People together, nor more weighty Affairs to confer with them about, then himself: the particulars whereof he referred to the Lord Keeper: By whom they were recommended to the Parliament in an elegant Speech. The Parliament sat in debate of those things recommended to them till the fifth of *May*, when his Majesty concluding they were too slow in giving those Supplies he demanded, Dissolved

solved them, publishing a Declaration thereupon, containing an account of his Reasons for that Dissolution. This was the fourth Parliament which had been Dissolved by his Majesty.

In the beginning of our unhappy Troubles, he raised a Regiment for the Service of his Majesty ; and was by him (upon the Rupture with the Parliament, made Governour of *Waymouth* ; being at the same time High Sheriff of the County of *Dorset* : And when he saw that the War would unavoidably break out, he summoned (by virtue of his *Posse Comitatus* ) the whole County from sixteen years old, to meet at *Dorchester* , which is the County Town, thereby to engage them to stand by his Majesty : But before that day appointed for their Meeting, his Majesty sent down Colonel *William Ashburnham* with a Commission to be Governour of the County of *Dorset* : whereupon he repaired presently to *Dorchester* , and shewed his Commission to the High Sheriff. At which time the Sheriff acquainted the Colonel with what he had done in reference to his Majesties Interest, by summoning the County : wherewith the Colonel was very well pleased. But Sir  
*Anthony*



*Anthony* concluding that the Colonel's being sent to command as Governour of the County, notwithstanding his being Governour of *Weymouth*, and high Sheriff of *Dorset-shire*, proceeded from some secret suspicion which his Majesty had conceiv'd of his Fidelity, (perhaps occasioned by the malicious whisperings of some about the King, who grew Jealous of him, lest the greatness of his Parts should in time have rais'd him higher in his Majesties Favour and good Opinion, then would have consisted with their Interest) took Horse the next Morning, and went to his own House, about 20 Miles from thence; the next day he went to his Brothers, and from thence to *London*.

The day being come for the Counties Meeting, they flocked in vast numbers to *Dorchester*; there being scarce a Man in the whole County wanting: whereupon the Colonel (being informed that the High Sheriff was not in Town) went up to the *Guild-Hall*, being accompanied with several of the chief of the Town, and told the People, That he was glad to see so great an appearance; and that they yielded so ready Obedience to the Summons of their Sheriff,

C who

who was at that time absent; telling them, that the occasioning of summoning of them, was to engage them to his Majesties Interest: asking them, if those unhappy differences that were arisen between the King and his Parliament could not be composed, but should break out into a War, who they would stand by, his Majesty or the Parliament. Whereupon they all cried out with one consent, *By the King, We will stand by the King against all Opposers whatsoever.* Gentlemen, said the Colonel, I thank you for this Declaration which you have now made of your Loyal Intentions; I hope your Hearts have gone with your Words therein: and that you will make good your Promises when his Majesties Occasions shall require it. Whereupon they were dismissed and sent home.

In October 1645. he was chosen Sheriff of Norfolk; which choice was November the first, approved of and confirmed by the Parliament. And the next year, 1646. he was chosen Sheriff of the County of Wilts; discharging the Offices both years with abundance of Candour and Generosity. And in the year 1651. the Parliament out of a deep sense of his profound Wisdom, appointed

sted him, January 20, with twenty persons more, to sit as a Committee, to consider of the inconveniencies which were in the Law, and the Mischiefs which frequently arise from the Delays, and other Irregularities in the Administration thereof; and ordered them to report their Opinion therein to the House.

Not long after this the Scene of Affairs alter'd, and Cromwell's Ambitious Designs for Usurping the Supream Power being now ripe, he resolved to put them into execution; and as the first Essay, took upon him to Dissolve that remnant of a Parliament. To which purpose, on the 10th of April 1653. he entered the House, attended by some of his principal Officers, and delivered several Reasons why they ought to be Dissolved, and a period put to their Sitting, which was immediately done. The Speaker, with all the rest of the Members, some through fear, and others by force, presently departed the House, all the Nation rejoycing thereat; and scarce any man grieved for their Dissolution but themselves: every one affirmed, that although probably the Nation could not be much better'd by this change, yet worse could not possibly

befall it. However *Cromwell* did not think it time as yet to take the Government absolutely into his own hands; wherefore he summoned another Convention somewhat like the former, to which he gave the name of a Parliament.

Whereupon, *Sir A.* being looked upon by his Country-men, as the fittest person to oppose and baffle any extravagant motions or designs that should be proposed to, or carried on by them, was returned to serve therein for his Native County of *Wilts.*

This Convention had several strange things under debate, that would have been very dangerous and prejudicial to the Nation; and he acted the part of a Wise Politician, and a true *English* Man, in rendring their Debates ineffectual and to no purpose, as well by his ingenious Arguments drawn from Scripture and Reason, as the Interest he had in the Gentlemen of the Country; whereby he engaged them to appear also against the Designs which were then carrying on. Whereat the contrary Faction being strangely exasperated, stormed exceedingly, and pushed forward their Designs with the greater fury. Whereupon the rest (although the Majority) fearing

fearing to be undermin'd, by their laying hold of an opportunity to Assemble themselves in their absence, any Forty being a *Quorum*, and thereby accomplish their Designs, resolved to Dissolve themselves; which they did accordingly: and so by that means quash'd those mischievous Designs upon which they were Brooding.

However, *Cromwell* resolved, that whoever lost, he would be no loser by this Dissolution; wherefore he ( by a strange way of Reasoning ) pretended, that by this means the whole Supream Power and Authority of the three Nations, ( both Civil and Military ) was of course devolved into his hands; and thereupon called a Council of Officers to consult about settling the Government: who after several Debates, resolved to have a Commonwealth in a single Person; which Person should be *Oliver Cromwell*, by the name of Lord Protector, &c.

Whereupon *Cromwell* calls a Parliament, which met *September 3. 1654.* whereof *Sir A.* was chosen a Member, the Country supposing him to be the fittest Man they could choose to obviate and undermine *Cromwell's* Tyrannical De-

signs. *Cromwell* makes a Politick & smooth Speech to them, endeavouring to persuade them to embrace his Interest; promising (for their encouragement) to do strange things for the good of the Nation, if they would but afford him their Assistance in order thereunto. But although some of the Members were Men for his turn, and were resolved to serve him in his ambitious Designs to the utmost of their power, although themselves and their Posterity suffered for it, yet Sir *Anthony*, and abundance of others, were too Wise to be imposed upon, and too courageous to be hector'd into a compliance. So that being the Majority, they over-number'd those who were for complying with the Usurpers Interest, and render'd his hopes in that Parliament vain and ineffectual. Whereat the Tyrant, being enraged to see his expectations so frustrated, Dissolved them; lest if he had suffered them to sit any longer, they might have overthrown his new acquired Usurpations.

But the Protector being extremely necessitated for Money, and having a longing desire to have his Power confirmed to him by the consent of the People, hoping that a second Representa-  
tive

they would grant him that which the first  
 refused. Issues out his Writs for the Ele-  
 ction of another Parliament. Yet re-  
 membering the Speeches and Carriage of  
 Sir *Anthony*, and some other Members of  
 the late Parliament, he gave secret di-  
 rections to the Sheriffs of the several  
 Counties, to use their utmost endeavour  
 to prevent (if possible) their being cho-  
 sen, or returned to serve in that Parlia-  
 ment. However, the Countries striving  
 to please themselves rather than the Pro-  
 tector; and preferring their own Inte-  
 rest before *Cromwells*, Returned Sir *An-  
 thony*, and most of the other Members  
 that opposed the Protectors Designs in  
 the late Parliament, to serve in this:  
 whereby this Stratagem failed of pro-  
 ducing its desired effects; which forced  
 him to take new Measures, and invent  
 the following Shifts, *viz.*

That every Member before he was to  
 sit in the House, was imposed upon so-  
 lemnly to engage himself by promise,  
 not to act any thing prejudicial to the  
 present Government. But fearing lest  
 this device should not keep out enough  
 to make the Parliament pliable and fit  
 for his purpose, he gave special direc-  
 tions, not to admit of any into the House,

but those only that produced a Certificate or Warrant in the following form.

*Com<sup>rs</sup> Bucks.*

*These are to certifie that W. E. &c. is returned to serve in this present Parliament for the said County, and approved of by his Highnesses Council.*

Sept. 17. 1656.

*Nath. Taylor Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery.*

September 17. 1656. being the day appointed for the Meeting of this Parliament, he went to the Parliament House at *Westminster*, expecting to Sit there as a Member of that Parliament: But found Entrance not only denied to himself, but to above an Hundred more, who had been Members of the former Parliament, and had render'd themselves obnoxious to the Usurper, by Opposing and Acting in contradiction to his Designs of Establishing his Tyranny: They being all

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Excluded for want of the aforesaid Certificate or Warrant. Whereupon (after having consulted together) they applied themselves for Redress to that part of the Parliament which was admitted to Sit. Acquainting them by way of complaint, that above an Hundred of the Members which were chosen by the Country, and sent up to serve in the Parliament, were not able to obtain admittance into the House, being kept out by order of the Protector. But those within the House, being all of them *Cromwell's* Creatures, upon the Questions being put, Resolved, That those persons ought to make their Application to the Council for Acceptance and Approbation.

Whereupon, finding that they could obtain no relief against those Arbitrary and Illegal Practices of the Usurper, they unanimously consented to draw up and publish a Remonstrance, wherein they claimed the privilege of the Ancient Fundamental Laws, and their Birth-right as Free-men of *England*. But the Remonstrance being much too large to be here inserted, I shall only present you with one or two Paragraphs, as a Specimen of those brave *Heroes* Resolutions

tions against a *Proteſtorian* Invaſion; And the greatneſs of their Courage, and brave *Engliſh* Gallantry, will be the more conſpicuous, if we conſider this was done when the then Proteſtor was in his *Zenith*; when he had made almoſt all *Europe* tremble before him, and gave Law to his Neighbouring Princes; and held that Thunder in his Fiſt, wherewith he ſhook the Nation off her very Foundations: And the Houſe too filled with thoſe who either were, or ſeemed to be his Creatures: Yet in a general Deſiance of this ſo Potent a Conquerour, did thoſe Noble Patriots (amongſt other things) Remonſtrate,

When our Worthy Anceſtors have been met in Parliaments, and have found Oppreſſion and Tyranny ſupported by ſuch ſtrong hands, that they could not prevail to ſecure their Countries, Lives and Liberties by wholeſome Laws, they have often made their Proteſtations againſt Injuſtice, and Oppreſſion; and forewarned the People of their danger. In like manner, we who have been duly choſen by the People to be Members of the Parliament, that ſhould now have met, and have an undoubted Right

Right to meet, Sit, and Vote in Parliament, although we are Oppressed by Force of Arms, and shut out of the usual place of Parliament Sitting; yet having Hearts sensible of that highest Trust reposed in us, and being filled with Cares for the Church and Commonwealth, which with grief of heart we behold bleeding; we do hold our selves bound in duty to God, and our Country, to declare unto the People of England, their and our woful condition, and the most evident danger of the utter Subversion of Religion, Liberty, Right, and Property.

We believe the Rumour is now gone through the Nation, that Armed Men, employed by the L. P. have prevented the free Meeting and Sitting of the intended Parliament, and have forcibly shut out of doors such Members as he and his Council supposed would not be frightened or flattered to betray their Country, and give up their Religion, Lives, and Estates to be at his Will, to serve his Lawless Ambition. But we fear that the Slavery, Rapines, Oppressions, Cruelties, Murthers, and Confusions that are comprehended in this horrible Fact, are not so sensibly discerned,

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or so much laid to heart as the case requires ; and we doubt not, but as the common practice of the Man hath been, the Name of God, and Religion, and formal Fasts and Prayers will be made use of to colour over the Blackness of the Fact : We do therefore in faithfulness to God and our Country, hereby Remonstrate ;

*First*, That whereas by the Fundamental Laws of this Nation, the People ought not to be bound by any Laws, but such as are freely consented unto by their chosen Deputies in Parliament, and it is a most wicked Usurpation, even against the very Laws of Nature, for any man to impose his *Will* or *Discretion* upon another as a Rule, unless there be some compact or Agreement between the parties for that intent. And whereas by the Mercy of God only, in preserving this Fundamental Law and Liberty, the good People of *England* have beyond memory of any Record, preserved their Estates, Families, and Lives, which had otherwise been destroyed at the will of every wicked Tyrant ; and by keeping this only as their undoubted Right, they have been kept from being brutish Slaves to the lusts of their

their Kings, who would otherwise have despoiled them of their Persons, Lives, and Estates by their Proclamations, and the Orders of themselves and their Council. Now the L. P. hath by force of Arms invaded this Fundamental Right and Liberty, and violently prevented the meeting of the peoples chosen Deputies in Parliament; and he and his Council boldly declare;

*That none of the Peoples Deputies shall meet in Parliament, unless they agree to the measure of their Fancies, Humours and Lusts.*

They now render the people such Fools, nor Beasts, as know not who are fit to be trusted by them with their Lives, Estates and Families: But he and his Council, that daily devour their Estates, and Liberties, will judge who are fit to counsel and advise about Laws to preserve their Estates and Liberties. Thus doth he now openly assume a power to pack an Assembly of his Confidants, Parasites, and Confederates, and to call them a Parliament, that he may from thence pretend that the People have consented to become his Slaves, and

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to have their persons and Estates at his Discretion. And if the people shall tamely submit to such a Power, who can doubt but he may pack such a Number as will obey all his Commands, and consent to his taking what part of our Estates he pleases, and to impose what Yokes he thinks fit to make us draw in.

They know it to be the undoubted Right of the People to trust whom they think fit, and as much the Right of every man duly chosen and trusted, to move and Vote in Parliament, without asking their leave, or begging their Tickets. And although there have been frequently Secret Designs for many years to subvert Religion, Liberty, and Property in this Nation; and to that end his Designs of Tyranny have attempted to destroy sometimes the Being, sometimes the Power, Privileges, and Freedom of Parliaments; yet the Mercy of God hath almost miraculously preserved the Being, Privileges and Authority of Parliaments, and therein Religion, Liberty, and Property, until the time of the Lord Protector.

But now he hath assumed an absolute Arbitrary Sovereignty (as if he came

down

down from the Throne of God) to create to himself, and his Confederates, such Powers and Authorities, as must not be under the cognizance of the Peoples Parliaments. His Proclamations he declares shall be binding Laws to Parliaments themselves; he takes upon him to be above the whole Body, and every Member of it, by no other Rule or Law than his pleasure, as if he were their Absolute Lord, and had bought all the People of *England* for his Slaves. Doubtless he would pretend only to have Conquered *England* at his own Expence; and, were there as much Truth as there is Falshood in that pretence, yet he could not but know that the Right of the Peoples Deputies to their Ancient Powers and Priviledges would remain good against him, as against their publick capital Enemy. Whom every man ought to destroy, until by some agreement with the Body of the People in Parliament, some sort of governing Power in him were submitted unto, that hereby he might cease to be a publick Enemy and Destroyer, and become a King, or Governour, according to the conditions accepted by the People; and if he wou'd so pretend, he could  
not

not be so discharged from his publick Enmity by any Condition or Agreement made with a part of the Peoples chosen Deputies, whilst he shut out the other part; for no part of the Representatives Body are trusted to consent to any thing in the Nations behalf; if the whole have not their free Liberty of Debating and Voting in the Matters propounded.

If he would pretend no higher than to be our Conquerour, who for Peace and his own safeties sake, was content to cease from being a publick Enemy, and to be admitted a Governour, he would not compass those ends by forcibly excluding (as now he does) whom he pleases of the Representative Body of People, who were to submit to him on the Peoples behalf; therefore he either takes upon him to be such a Conqueror as scorns the Peoples acceptance of him by their Representative as their Governour, and fears not to remain a publick Enemy, or else he takes himself to be such an unheard of Sovereign, that against him the People have no claim of Property or Right in themselves, or any thing else; for he hath now declared that the Peoples choice cannot give any



man a Right to sit in Parliament, but the Right must be derived from his gracious Will and Pleasure, with that of his Councillors, and his Clerks Ticket only must be their evidence for it.

Thus hath he exalted himself to a Throne like unto God's, as if he were of himself, and his power from himself, and we were all made for him, to be commanded and disposed of by him, to work for him, and serve his Pleasure and Ambition.

A little after there is an Instance of Chief-Justice *Tresilian*, who was executed at *Tyburn* in the time of *Richard* the Second, for advising the King, that he might at any time dissolve the Parliament, and command the Members to depart under the penalty of Treason. Divers other Protestations were contained in that Instrument against the Arbitrariness and Tyranny of that proceeding; and in conclusion they declare they will pour out their complaints before the Lord against their powerful Oppressors, hoping he will redeem his People out of the hands of wicked and deceitful Men. This Protestation was Signed by One hundred and seventeen persons, whereof Sir *Anthony Ashley*  
D *Cooper*

*Cooper* was chief, and many others of great Loyalty and Integrity, some whereof are since dead, but many yet survive; and as a reward of their Loyalty, enjoy Places of Honour and Profit under his present Majesty.

By this we may easily discern the Opinion he had of the Illegal and Arbitrary proceedings of *Cromwell*, and how much of the sufferings of the Loyal Party would have been prevented, had that point of a free Parliament been then gained: and consequently His Majesties Restauration must have happened sooner than it did. This Remonstrance had not power enough however to work their present admission into the House, so that that part of a Parliament which was suffered to sit, did every thing to the desire of *Cromwell*, answering both those ends for which they were Convened, viz. the raising Money, and confirming his Title; which was no soonèr done, but he Prorogued them until he had occasion to Fleece them again; which interval was laid hold on by this true *English* Gentleman as a fit opportunity to engage them, when they met again, to do themselves and the Nation Justice, by admitting him and the rest of the Mem-  
bers

bers that were kept out by the Protector, to take their place in Parliament; and so managed some of the Members, who were moderate men, that they resolved not to be so basely trampled on by the Tyrant any longer.

The Prorogation being expired, the Parliament make their appearance at *Westminster*, where the Protector makes a fair Speech to them, promising them strange things if they would go on and prosecute his Designs. But notwithstanding this Speech, the Commons were no sooner retired to their House, than *Cromwell* discovered to his no small perplexity, that the Face of his beloved Parliament, from whose tractableness and compliance he had promised himself the greatest happiness imaginable, was strangely altered: For they presently fell to Voting, That no Member legally Chosen and Returned, could be excluded from performing their Duty, but by consent of Parliament; and thereupon immediately proceeded to the calling over their House, and admitted Sir *Anthony* and the rest, who had subscribed the Remonstrance (to the no good liking of the Protector) who were no sooner in, and the House full, but

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they so influenced the rest, that they soon became the majority, and began to undo what the others had done in their absence ; and presumed so far as to question the Tyrants Power. Wherefore finding them so bold, he concluded it would not be convenient to let a business of so high a nature run too far, lest it should, if neglected, put a period to all his ambitious Designs. Wherefore going to his Pageant House of Lords, he sent for them, and after having made a large Speech to them, in the conclusion told them, That it did concern his Interest, as well as the publick Peace and Tranquility of the Nation, to terminate that Parliament, and therefore he did then dissolve them, and put an end to their Sitting.

The constant correspondence he alwaies maintained with the Royal Party, and that almost to the hazard of his Life and Family, are sufficient Testimonies of his sincerity to his Masters Interest and Service ; his House was a Sanctuary for distressed Royalists, and his correspondence with the Kings Friends ( though closely managed, as the necessities of those times required ) are not unknown to those that were the prin-

principal managers of his Majesties Affairs at that time. This made *Cromwell* so apprehensive of this great Assertor of his Countries Rights, and Opposer of Arbitrary Government and Enthusiasm, that though his vast Abilities were known (at least) to equal the ablest Pilot of the State, which was the only motive that induced the Usurper, in the infancy of his Usurpation, to nominate him for one of his Council, in hope thereby to allure him to his Interest, and wheedle and Wire-draw him into a compliance with his ambitious and mischievous designs; yet we cannot find him amongst the Creatures of his Cabinet Council, nor amongst the Eleven Major Generals, to whom the Care of the Nation was committed: No, their Principles, their Aims and Designs were incompatible; one was for Subverting, the other for Maintaining the Antient standing Fundamentals of the Nation; which once dissolved, it was impossible but an Universal Deluge of Confusion, Blood and Rapine must ensue. This made our brave Patriot (with divers of the Heroick *English* Race) to the utmost oppose the growth of a *Protectorian* Tyranny.

And when the Rump had again usurped the Power into their hands, they endeavoured to oblige him by nominating him to be one of their Council of State, and one of the Commissioners for the managing their Army. Notwithstanding which, he continued his Intelligence with, and Endeavours for the Restoration of his Sovereign. So that we find him accused before them for keeping Intelligence with the King, and for having raised Men to joyn with Sir George Booth in attempting to restore and bring His Majesty that now is to his Rightful Throne. Many persons of great note were imprisoned on the account of this Plot; and amongst the rest Sir *Anthony Ashly Cooper*, who was really guilty (if there could be any Guilt in Loyalty, and an honest endeavour to free his Country from those deplorable miseries under which it then groaned) for indeed he was a principal contriver of the Business, being one of the secret Cabal; and had always kept Intelligence with Sir George; and had raised a party in *Dorset-shire* to joyn with him, which upon the miscarrying of the Design, timely dispersed themselves: And although no man knew better then he how

to obviate the Reasons of the House, and plead his own Cause, yet he was not without great difficulty cleared and discharged of that Imputation by the Rump ; who shortly after intrusted him with the Custody of the Tower of *London*, the Command of a Regiment of Horse ; and gave him ( with six others to assist him ) the Government and Command of their Army.

So that now he began to advance the great work of Restoring his Majesty, with more success and speed than before. To which end he ( and Eight more who had been of the Old Council of State ) sent a Letter to General *Monke*, to proceed in his generous Undertakings for the advantage and settlement of the three Nations ; and perswaded him to come to *London*, in order to the better prosecuting what he had so well-begun. Whereupon the General ( having disposed and ordered all things according to his desire ) advanced towards *England*, accompanied with several *English* Gentlemen who held correspondence with him ; and being acquainted with the Generals Designs, went thither on purpose to accompany him hither : where he was no sooner arrived, but he was

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highly Honoured and Complemented by the Rump, and made one of the Council who was to order and dispose of publick Affairs: but to qualifie them for this Trust, they were to have an Oath imposed upon them, wherein they were to abjure the Royal Family. But that being directly contrary to the generous Designs of those two Noble Patriots of the Royal Cause, and bold Adventurers for the Interest of their injured Sovereign; the one by his Head to contrive, and the other by his Arms to execute what was contrived, as well as assist in Counselling and Advising; They opposed it as unreasonable, and a Snare to their Consciences; and by their influence upon Colonel *Morly*, procured it to be so warmly opposed, that both Oath and Council fell, and came to nothing.

Doctor *Clarges* having happily discovered, that *Lambert* and others, were making parties, and drawing Forces together to oppose their Loyal Designs, repaired immediately to Sir *Anthony*, accounting him the fittest person to be acquainted with a business of that nature (being not only firm to the Kings Interest, but by his Wisdom and Policy knew



knew how to undermine those who were  
averse to it ) wherefore having related  
the particulars to him, desiring him to  
communicate it to the Council, and pre-  
vail with them to take speedy care about  
it, lest if neglected, it should prove of  
dangerous consequence. Which he did  
accordingly, and so managed the Coun-  
cil, that timely care was taken in it ;  
and even that attempt of *Lamberts*,  
which in it self threatened the contrary,  
was by his Skill, dexterously managed for  
the advantage of his Majesties Interest,  
and the hastening his happy Restoration.

General *Monke* having forced the Par-  
liament to admit the secluded Members,  
they were no sooner seated in the House,  
but they fell to such kind of work, as  
plainly discovered to all intelligent Men,  
what would be the Issue of those things  
which were then transacted : for they  
ordered the Release of all those who  
were Imprisoned for Petitioning for a  
Free Parliament, together with the Mem-  
bers of the Common-Council of *Lon-*  
*don*. They enlarged the Generals Com-  
mission, constituting him one of the Ge-  
nerals at Sea. Discharged Sir *George*  
*Booth*, and others, committed upon the  
account of his Rising ; and ordered the  
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Examination of him and his Lady to be taken off the File, and given to them. Then having appointed a free Parliament to meet in the *April* following, they Dissolved themselves; appointing a Council of State to govern in the mean while, consisting for the most part of Loyal Gentlemen; whose Names were as follows: *Arthur Ansley* Lord President, *William Pierpoynt*, *John Crew*, *Richard Knightly*, Colonel *Popham*, Colonel *Morley*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Lord *St. John*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, Sir *John Evelin*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Sir *William Lewis*, Colonel *Montague*, Colonel *Hanly*, Colonel *Norton*, *Denzill Hollis*, Sir *John Temple*, Colonel *Tompson*, Sir *John Trever*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Poltis*, Colonel *Birch*, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, *John Swinton*, *John Weaver*, Colonel *Rossiter*, Lord *Fairfax*, Lord General *Monke*. This Council was so influenc'd by the two great Contrivers and Managers of the happy change, that every thing done by them tended to the furthering thereof.

And *April 25. 1660.* the new Parliament met in both Houses; which was the most considerable step they had yet made

made towards the accomplishing their great End ; and gave an entrance to, and made way for the perfecting the whole Contrivance. For His Majesty immediately hereupon, dispatcht away Sir *John Greenvil* (who was afterwards created Earl of *Bath*) with Letters to both Houses of Parliament, and General *Monke* ; which were delivered to them upon the first day of *May*, (being but the seventh day after the opening of the Parliament) together with his Majesties gracious Declaration to all his Loving Subjects. Wherein he expresse abundance of compassion and tenderness to the Nation ; which had been so long harraß'd by an unnatural War.

These Letters, and the Declaration, were received by the Parliament with a Joy and Veneration so extraordinary, that I find my self at a loss for words wherewith to express it. And their pleasure and satisfaction was such, that in an extasie of Joy, they suddenly drew the Curtain, and exposed the Beautiful and Glorious Scene to the delightful view of the languishing Spectators ; wherein they plainly saw the happy Issue of those Policies and Councils that were before Riddles too mysterious,

rious for vulgar understandings to unfold, or once imagine whether they tended, or where they would terminate, by the following Resolves of both Houses.

*Resolved by the House of Peers, That they do own and declare, That according to the Ancient and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons.*

*Resolved, That a Committee of Eight Lords do joyn with a Committee of the House of Commons, to consider of an Answer to His Majesties gracious Letter and Declaration.*

*Resolved by the House of Commons, That a Committee be appointed to prepare an Answer to His Majesties Letter, expressing the Great and Joyful sense of this House for his Gracious Offers, and their humble and hearty Thanks to His Majesty for the same; and with professions of their Loyalty and Duty to His Majesty: And that this House will give a speedy Answer to His Majesties Gracious Proposals.*

*Resolved; That the sum of 50000 l. be Presented His Majesty from this House.*

The receiving those Letters, and the Parliaments compliance therewith, was no sooner reported to the City; but the Citizens were almost overwhelmed with Joy; the harmony of the Bells, and the flaming Piles which inlightened every Street, surrounded with incredible Shouts and Acclamations of Joy, were sufficient demonstrations of the infinite pleasure and satisfaction they took in this no less wonderful then happy Revolution; and the several Counties taking the Alarm from *London*, contended which should out-vie each other in expressions of Loyalty and Joy.

Then the Parliament proceeded to draw up a Letter in Answer to His Majesties subscribing it to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, desiring him speedily to return to the Exercises of his Kingly Office; appointing Commissioners to go over to *Holland*, and attend His Majesty during the remainder of his stay there, and in his return to *England*. Of these Commissioners, there were six for the House of Lords; for the House  
of

of Commons Twelve, whereof our great Patriot was one; and Twenty for the City of *London*.

Instructions being delivered to the Commissioners, they set Sail for *Holland* in several Frigats, appointed by the Parliament to attend them; and after some danger by bad Weather, they Landed at the *Hague*, whither His Majesty was then removed from *Breda*, (where he had resided some time before) as being a place nearer and more convenient for his Shipping; the disposal whereof, and of the whole Fleet, was remitted to His Majesties pleasure, General *Montague* having received Orders from the Parliament to Obey His Majesties Orders and Directions therein. The Commissioners were no sooner arrived but they went and waited on His Majesty, and with all imaginable Respect and Veneration, delivered their respective Messages, and behaved themselves according to the Instructions they received from their Principals: beseeching His Majesty in the name of his Parliament and People to return and re-assume the Scepter, assuring him, That he should be infinitely welcome without any terms. They were received by his Majesty with

a Port and Grace like himself, and entertain'd with extraordinary Favour and Magnificence.

In the mean time the Parliament Proclaim'd the King ; which was perform'd with all the Joy, Splendour and Magnificence, that Love or Loyalty could inspire. The chief Lords of the House of Peers, and the most eminent of the House of Commons, the Lord General, together with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, all in their Coaches, attended by the whole Militia of the City ; waited upon, and assisted in the Ceremony ; and the Shouts and Acclamations of the crouding Multitudes, was so extraordinary, that although all the Bells throughout the City and Suburbs were at that time Ringing, yet their noise was not to be heard.

The King preparing for his Return, was magnificently Treated by the *Dutch*, and highly Complimented by all the Forraign Ambassadours. And the *Dutch*, knowing that they should thereby very much please the King, enlarg'd their Civilities to our great Patriot, and the rest of the Commissioners from the Parliament and City, treating them by their  
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Deputies, to their great content and satisfaction.

Whilst this great Adventurer for the Royal Cause continued in *Holland*, one day as he was doing his Duty in waiting on his Sovereign, had the unhappiness to be overthrown in a Carravan, whereby he received an unfortunate Wound in his side between the Ribs; which in time came to an Exulceration; and was in the year 1672. when he was Lord Chancellor, forc'd to be opened: The Operation was performed by Mr. *Knolls* the Chyrurgeon, by the Advice and Direction of the famous Doctor *Willis*; and supposed to be the greatest Cure that ever was done upon the Body of Man: From whence we may learn, the hard Fate which sometimes attend the most commendable Actions, since this (which was the greatest mark and ensign of Loyalty) should be made the matter of the greatest Obloquy and Reproach; most of those malicious Pamphlets that have been written against him, being filled with Invectives, grounded upon the Story of the Tap. Oh monstrous Ingratitude!



His Majesty having prepared all things in readines, Embarked for *England*, the Royal *Charles* being appointed for that purpose: And was attended by the Commissioners, and a numerous Company of *English* Gentry, and waited on by General *Mountague* with the whole Fleet; and having a fair and gentle Gale, Landed at *Dover* May 25. where he was met by the General and chief Nobility, and so conducted to *Canterbury*, *Rocheſter*, and *Darkford*, and from thence to *London*; where His Majesty found the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, ready in a Tent which was pitcht in *St. Georges Fields* to receive him; the ſeveral Regiments being there placed in Order, made a Lane for his Majesty to paſs through, the Sword being delivered him, according to Custom he re-delivered it, and after a ſplendid Treat, proceeded into *London* by *Southmark*, from the *Bridge* to *Temple-Bar*, the Streets were Railed; on one ſide with Standings for the Liveries; and on the other with the Train'd Bands, and ſeveral Companies of Gentlemen Volunteers in White Doublets, under the Command of Sir *John Staywell*, through

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which

which His Majesty passed in a Splendid and Triumphant manner: being bravely attended by Sir *Anthony*, and the rest of the Commissioners of the Parliament and City; together with all the principal Nobility and Gentry of *England*, with innumerable others; and so he passed to *White-hall*, where both Houses of Parliament waited his Arrival: whose Speakers in elegant Speeches acquainted him with the Felicity and Happiness they conceiv'd in this happy Revolution.

The *Friday* following His Majesty went the private way to the House of Lords; and after having made a short Speech, signed those Acts which were ready for the Royal Assent. And not long after, proceeded to the choice of his Privy-Council; and in consideration of the great Esteem he had for Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, nominated him for one of them; Wisely considering, That he whose Counsels had been so successful in contriving His Restoration, might be highly necessary, and very much conduce to the Establishment of Him in His Kingdom; and to shew the extraordinary Esteem he had for his Parts and Abilities, he advanced him to be one of the

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the first Rank in the Council, placing him above his Royal Brother the Duke of Gloucester, and even General Monke himself, whom his Majesty use to call his Political Father. And having in sundry respects (saith Sir William Dugdale in his History of the Baronage of England, whom we cannot suspect of Partiality) manifested his Loyalty to Charles the First, and his great Affection to his Country in the late perilous and difficult Times, and likewise to our present Sovereign, by his prudent and seasonable Advice and Consultation with General Monke, in order to His Majesties Restoration; in consideration of these his acceptable Services, he was by Letters Patents bearing date at Westminster, upon the 20th day of April, in the Thirteenth Year of His Majesties Reign, advanced to the Degree and Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the Title of Lord Ashly of Wimbourne St. Giles, and to the Heirs Males of his Body. This Honour was conferred upon him in the Banqueting-House at White-hall, three days before His Majesties Coronation, in order to his assisting in the performance of that splendid Ceremony.

And when his Majesty was pleased to issue out the Grand Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* for the Trial of the Regicides, directed to several Noble Persons, choice was made of this Honourable Lord to be of the number of that Court, his Majesty deeming him to be a Person whose Prudence and Loyalty render'd him as deserving of the Honour to which his Majesty therein preferred him, as any other contained in that Commission.

And as if his Majesty had so high a Valuation for his Lordship, that he thought his profound Parts and exemplary Loyalty merited a perpetual confluence of Royal Favours, he raised him at several times to higher degrees of Honour, making him Chancellor of his Exchequer, Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Dorset*, and one of the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury. But all these being too small to compensate his Merits, and demonstrate the Royal Bounty and Princely Gratitude of his Sovereign, whose Generous Nature inclines him to delight in nothing more, then to reward like a King.

He was advanced to the Title and Dignity of an Earl, being in the year 1672. created Earl of *Shaftesbury*, and Lord *Cooper* of *Paulet*, to him and the Heirs Males of his Body; by Letters Patents bearing date at *Westminster*, upon the 23<sup>d</sup>. day of *April*, in the Twenty Fourth Year of his Majesties Raigh. And in *November* following, upon the Resignation of Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, his Majesty to gratifie the uninterrupted good Services of the Earl of *Shaftesbury*, Chancellor of his Exchequer, and one of the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury, was pleased to give unto him the Keeping of the said Great Seal, with the Title of Lord High Chancellor of *England*, ( these are the words of the *Gazette* ) being the second Person that had enjoyed that Title since his Majesties Raigh. Whereby he was placed by his Great Master, in the highest Orb that any Subject could possibly move in. The Kings Conscience being as it were, committed to his Care and Management. And with what Prudence and Candour, Honour and Integrity, he acquitted himself in that great and weighty Imployment, the Transactions of the Court of Chancery during the

time of his Chancellorship, will best testify. Justice then run in an equal Channel ; so that the Cause of the Rich was not suffer'd to swallow up the Rights of the Poor ; nor was the strong or cunning Oppressor permitted to devour the weak or unskilful Opposer : but the abused found Relief suitable to their Distress ; and those by whom they were abused, a severe Reprehension answerable to their Crimes. The mischievous Consequences which commonly arise from the delays and other practices of that Court, were by his ingenious and judicious Management, very much abated ; and every thing weigh'd and determin'd with such an exact Judgment and Equity, that it almost exceeds all possibility of belief.

And because the Traducers of this Lords Loyalty, not only reproach him with the Tap, which was an unquestionable Mark of Loyalty and Honour, it being got in conducting his Majesty to his Crown and Kingdom ; but have likewise quarrel'd at his constant Faithfulness to the Royal Interest, and endeavour'd to abuse every thing he did for his Majesties Service, as they have done the speech he made to the Parliament upon the  
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the account of the *Dutch* War : And that the World may see the temper of the Men, and upon what ground it is they were his Enemies, I have set down the Speech *verbatim* as follows :

*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses of the House of Commons.*

‘ **T**He King hath spoken so fully,  
 ‘ so excellently well, and so like  
 ‘ Himself, that you are not to expect  
 ‘ much from me. There is not a word  
 ‘ in His Speech that hath not its *full*  
 ‘ *weight* : And, I dare with assurance say,  
 ‘ will have its *effect* with you. His Ma-  
 ‘ jesty had called you sooner, and His  
 ‘ Affairs required it, but that He was  
 ‘ resolved to give you all the ease, and  
 ‘ vacancy to your own private Concerns ;  
 ‘ and the People as much respite from  
 ‘ Payments and Taxes, as the necessity  
 ‘ of His Business, or their Preservation  
 ‘ would permit. And yet (which I can-  
 ‘ not but here mention to you) by the  
 ‘ Crafty insinuations of some ill affected  
 ‘ persons, there have been spread strange  
 ‘ and desperate *Rumours*, which your  
 ‘ Meeting together this day, hath suffi-  
 ‘ ciently proved both malicious and  
 ‘ false.

' His Majesty hath told you, that He  
 ' is now engaged in an important, very  
 ' expensive, and indeed a *War* absolutely  
 ' necessary and unavoidable. He hath  
 ' referred you to His *Declaration*, where  
 ' you will find the *Personal indignities*  
 ' by *Pictures*, and *Medals*, and other  
 ' *publique affronts*, His Majesty hath re-  
 ' ceived from the *States*, their *Breach*  
 ' of *Treaties* both in the *Surinam*, and  
 ' *East-India* business: and at last they  
 ' came to that heighth of Insolence, as to  
 ' deny the honour and right of the *Flag*,  
 ' though an undoubted Jewel of this  
 ' Crown, never to be parted with, and  
 ' by them particularly owned in the late  
 ' Treaty of *Breda*, and never contested  
 ' in any Age. And whilest the King first  
 ' long expected, and then solemnly de-  
 ' manded *Satisfaction*, they disputed His  
 ' Title to it in all the *Courts* of *Christen-*  
 ' *dom*, and made great Offers to the  
 ' *French King*, if he would stand by them  
 ' against us. But the *most Christian King*  
 ' too well remembred what they did at  
 ' *Munster*, contrary to so many *Treaties*,  
 ' and solemn *Ingagements*; and how  
 ' dangerous a Neighbour they were to  
 ' all *Crowned heads*.



' The King and His *Ministers* had here  
 ' a hard time, and lay every day under  
 ' new *Obloquies*. Sometimes they were  
 ' represented as *selling* all to *France* to  
 ' make this *War* : *Portsmouth*, *Plymouth*,  
 ' and *Hull*, were to be given into the  
 ' *French* hands for *Caution*. The next  
 ' day news came, that *France* and *Hol-*  
 ' *land* were agreed. Then the *obloquy*  
 ' was turned from *treachery* to *folly* : The  
 ' *Ministers* were now *Fools*, that some  
 ' days before were *Villains*. And indeed  
 ' the *Coffee-houses* were not to be blamed  
 ' for their last apprehensions ; since if  
 ' that *Conjunction* had taken effect, then  
 ' *England* had been in a far worse case  
 ' then now it is, and the *War* had been  
 ' turned upon us. But *both Kings* know-  
 ' ing their *Interests*, resolved to *Joyn*  
 ' against them, who were the *Common*  
 ' *Enemies* to all *Monarchies*, and I may  
 ' say, especially to ours, their only *Com-*  
 ' *petitor* for *Trade*, and *Power* at *Sea* ;  
 ' and who only stand in their way to an  
 ' *universal Empire*, as great as *Rome*. This  
 ' the *States* understood so well, and had  
 ' swallowed so deep, that under all their  
 ' present distress and danger, they are so  
 ' intoxicated with that *vast ambition*, that  
 ' they

‘ they slight a *Treaty*, and refuse a *Ces-*  
 ‘ *sation*.

‘ All this you, and the whole Nation  
 ‘ saw before the last War; but it could  
 ‘ not then be so well timed, or our Al-  
 ‘ liances so well made. But you judged  
 ‘ aright, that at any rate, *Delenda est*  
 ‘ *Carthago*, That Government was to be  
 ‘ brought down. And therefore the King  
 ‘ may well say to you, *Tis your War*.  
 ‘ He took his *measures* from you, and  
 ‘ they were *just* and *right* ones: and  
 ‘ He expects a suitable *assistance* to so ne-  
 ‘ cessary and expensive an Action; which  
 ‘ He has hitherto maintained at His own  
 ‘ charge, and was unwilling either to  
 ‘ trouble you, or *burden* the *Country*, un-  
 ‘ til it came to an *inevitable necessity*.  
 ‘ And His Majesty commands me to tell  
 ‘ you, that unless it be a *certain Sum*,  
 ‘ and *speedily raised*, it can never answer  
 ‘ the Occasion.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ *Reputation* is the great support of  
 ‘ War or Peace. This War had never  
 ‘ begun, nor had the *States* ever slighted  
 ‘ the King, or ever refused Him *Satis-*  
 ‘ *faction*; neither had this War continued  
 ‘ to this day, or subsisted now, but that  
 ‘ the

the *States* were deceived in their *measures*, and apprehended His Majesty in that great want of money, that He must sit down under any Affronts, and was not able to begin, or carry on a War. Nay, at this day the *States* support themselves amongst their People by this only *falsehood*, that they are assured of the temper of *England*, and of the *Parliament*, and that you will not supply the King in this War: And that if they can hold out till your meeting, they will have new life, and may take new measures. There are lately taken two of their principal Agents, with their Credentials and Instructions to this purpose, who are now in the *Tower*, and shall be proceeded against according to the Law of Nations. But the King is sufficiently assured of His people: Knows you better: and can never doubt His *Parliament*. This had not been mentioned, but to shew you of what importance the *frankness* and *seasonableness* of this Supply is, as well as the *fulness* of it. Let me say, the King has brought the *States* to that condition, that your hearty conjunction, at this time, in supplying His Majesty, will make them never more formidable

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' to Kings, or dangerous to *England*.  
 ' And if after this you suffer them to  
 ' get up, let this be remembred, The  
 ' States of *Holland* are *Englands* eternal  
 ' Enemy both by Interest and Inclina-  
 ' tion.

' In the next place, to the supply for  
 ' the carrying on of the War, His Ma-  
 ' jesty recommends to you the taking  
 ' care of His *Debts*. What you gave  
 ' the last Session did not near answer  
 ' *your own expectation*. Besides, another  
 ' considerable Aid you designed His Ma-  
 ' jesty, was *unfortunately lost in the birth*;  
 ' so that the King was forced for the  
 ' carrying on of His affairs, much against  
 ' His will, to put a stop to the payments  
 ' out of the *Exchequer*. He saw the  
 ' *pressures* upon himself, and *growing in-*  
 ' *conveniencies* to His People by great  
 ' Interest; and the difference through  
 ' all His Business between *Ready money*,  
 ' and *Orders*. This gave the King the  
 ' necessity of that proceeding; to make  
 ' use of His own Revenue, which hath  
 ' been of so great effect in this War.  
 ' But though he hath put a stop to the  
 ' trade, and gain of the *Bankers*, yet  
 ' he would be unwilling to ruine them,  
 ' and oppress so many Families as are  
 ' con-

' concerned in those Debts ; Besides, it  
 ' were too disproportionable a burden  
 ' upon many of His good Subjects.  
 ' But neither the *Bankers*, nor they, have  
 ' reason to complain, if you now take  
 ' them into your care, and they have  
 ' paid them what was due to them when  
 ' the Stop was made, with Six *per Cent.*  
 ' Interest from that time. The King is  
 ' very much concern'd both in *Honour*  
 ' and *Interest* to see this done. And yet  
 ' he desires you not to mis-time it : but  
 ' that it may have only the second place,  
 ' and that you will first settle what you  
 ' intend about the Supply.

' His Majesty has so fully vindicated  
 ' His Declaration from that Calumny  
 ' concerning the Papists, that no reason-  
 ' able scruple can be made by any good  
 ' man. He has sufficiently justified it by  
 ' the time it was published in, and the  
 ' effects He hath had from it; and might  
 ' have done it more, from the agreeable-  
 ' ness of it, to His own natural disposi-  
 ' tion, which no good *English* man can  
 ' wish other then it is. He loves not  
 ' blood, or rigorous severities ; but  
 ' where mild, or gentle ways may be  
 ' used by a *wise Prince*, He is certain to  
 ' choose them. The Church of *England*  
 ' and

, and all good *Protestants*, have reason to  
 ' rejoyce in such a *Head*, and such a *De-*  
 ' *fender*. His Majesty doth declare His  
 ' care and Concerns for the Church, and  
 ' will maintain them in all their Rights  
 ' and Priviledges, equal, if not beyond  
 ' any of His Predecessors : He was born  
 ' and bred up in it : It was that his Fa-  
 ' ther died for : We all know how great  
 ' temptations and offers He resisted  
 ' abroad, when He was in His lowest  
 ' condition : And He thinks it the Ho-  
 ' nour of His Reign, that He hath been  
 ' the *Restorer* of the Church : 'Tis that  
 ' He will ever maintain, and hopes to  
 ' leave to posterity, in greater lustre,  
 ' and upon surer grounds, then our An-  
 ' cestors ever saw it. But His Majesty is  
 ' not convinc'd that *violent ways* are the  
 ' Interest of *Religion* or the Church.

' There is one thing more which I am  
 ' commanded to speak to you of, Which  
 ' is the *jealousie* that hath been foolishly  
 ' spread abroad, of the Forces the King  
 ' hath raised in this War. Wherein the  
 ' King hath *opened himself freely* to you,  
 ' and confessed the fault on the other  
 ' hand. For if this last Summer had  
 ' not proved a *miracle* of *Storms* and  
 ' *Tempests*, such as secured their *East-*  
 ' *India*

' *India* Fleet, and protected their Sea-  
 ' coast from a discent, nothing but the  
 ' true reason ( want of Money ) could  
 ' have justified the defect in the number  
 ' of our Forces. 'Tis that His Majesty  
 ' is providing for against the next Spring,  
 ' having given out Orders for the raising  
 ' of seven or eight Regiments more of  
 ' Foot, under the Command of Persons  
 ' of the greatest Fortunes and Quality.  
 ' And I am earnestly to recommend to  
 ' you, that in your Supplies, you will  
 ' take into your consideration this ne-  
 ' cessary *addition of charge*.

' And after His Majesties conclusion  
 ' of His Speech, let me conclude, nay,  
 ' let us all conclude with blessing God,  
 ' and the King. Let us bless God, that  
 ' he hath given us such a King to be the  
 ' Repairer of our Breaches both in  
 ' Church and State : and the *restorer of*  
 ' *our paths to dwell in* : That in the midst  
 ' of War and Misery, which rages in  
 ' our Neighbour Countries, our *Garners*  
 ' *are full*, and *there is no complaining in*  
 ' *our Streets* : And a Man can hardly  
 ' know that there is a War. Let us bless  
 ' God, that hath given this King signally  
 ' the hearts of His People, and most  
 ' particularly of this Parliament, who  
 ' in

' in their Affection and Loyalty to their  
 ' Prince, have exceeded all their Pre-  
 ' decessors. A *Parliament* with whom  
 ' the King hath many years lived with  
 ' all the Caresses of a happy Marriage.  
 ' Has the King had a *concern* ? You have  
 ' wedded it. Has His Majesty wanted  
 ' *Supplies* ? You have readily, chearful-  
 ' ly, and fully provided for them. You  
 ' have relied upon the Wisdom and Con-  
 ' duct of His Majesty in all His affairs :  
 ' so that you have never attempted to  
 ' exceed *your bounds*, or to *impose* upon  
 ' Him : whilst the King on the other  
 ' hand, hath made your Counsels the  
 ' foundations of all His proceedings ;  
 ' and hath been so tender of you, that  
 ' he hath upon His own Revenue and  
 ' Credit endeavoured to support even  
 ' Foreign Wars, that he might be least  
 ' uneasie to you, or burdensom to  
 ' His People. And let me say, that tho'  
 ' this Marriage be according to *Moses's*  
 ' *Law*, where the Husband can give  
 ' a *Bill of Divorce*, put her away,  
 ' and take another : Yet I can as-  
 ' sure you, it is as impossible for the  
 ' King to part with this Parliament,  
 ' as it is for you to depart from that  
 ' Loyalty, Affection, and Dutiful Beha-  
 ' viour



‘ *viz*, you have hitherto shewed to-  
wards Him.

‘ Let us bless the King for taking away  
‘ all our Fears, and leaving no room  
‘ for Jealousies: For those Assurances  
‘ and Promises He hath made us. Let  
‘ us bless God and the King, that our  
‘ Religion is safe: That the Church of  
‘ *England* is the care of our Prince:  
‘ That Parliaments are safe: That our  
‘ Properties and Liberties are safe. What  
‘ more hath a good *English* man to ask,  
‘ but that this King may long Reign,  
‘ and that this Triple-Alliance of King,  
‘ Parliament and People, may never be  
‘ dissolved?

The King having about that time  
made Sir *Edward Turner* (Speaker of the  
House of Commons) Lord Chief Ba-  
ron of the Exchequer, the Lord Chan-  
cellor acquainted them therewith; and  
recommended to them His Majesties  
Pleasure for their Electing a new Speaker  
in the following Speech:

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My

*My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and  
Burgesses of the House of Commons.*

**H**is Majesty hath commanded me to tell you, That he hath many things to say to you, but he thinks not this a proper time, but will defer it till the House of Commons be compleated with a new Speaker. For His Majesty hath since the last Session, as a mark of His Favour to His House of Commons, and that he might reward so good a Servant, taken their late Speaker, Sir *Edward Turner*, to be Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and called him by Writ to be an Assistant to this House. I am therefore commanded to acquaint you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, That it is the Kings Pleasure you repair to your House, and Elect a Discreet, Wise, and Learned man, who after he hath been by you Presented, and that Presentation by His Majesty admitted, shall then possess the Office of your common Mouth and Speaker. And the King is pleased to be here to Morrow in the Afternoon, to receive the Presentment of him accordingly.

The

The Commons having Elected Sir *Job Charlton* to be their Speaker ( who being by them Presented to the King ) Addressed himself to His Majesty in the following words :

Most Gracious Sovereign,

**T**He Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees of the House of Commons, in Obedience to your Royall Command, have proceeded to the Choice of a Speaker.

They have among them many worthy Persons, eminently qualified for so great a Trust ; yet with too favourable an Eye have cast it upon me, who am really conscious to my self of so many infirmities, rendring me much unfit for so great an Employment : And although my endeavours of excusing my self before them, have not been successful, yet they have been so Indulgent, as to permit me to continue my endeavours therein before Your Majesties most piercing and discerning Judgment.

The Veneration due to Majesty, which lodgeth in every Loyal Breast, makes it not an easie matter to speak before Your Majesty, at any time, or in any capacity ; But to speak before Your Majesty in Your Exaltation, thus gloriously supported and attended,

and that as Speaker of Your House of Commons, requires greater Abilities then I can pretend to own ; I am not also without fear, That the Publick Affairs, wherein Your Majesty and Your Kingdom, in this Juncture of time, are so highly concern'd, may receive detriment through my weakness.

I therefore with a plain humble heart, prostrate at Your Royal feet, beseech, That You will Command them to review what they have done, and to proceed to another Election.

To which the Lord Chancellour made the following Answer:

Mr. Serjeant Charlton,

‘**T**He King hath very attentively  
 ‘ heard your discreet and hand-  
 ‘ some Discourse, whereby you endea-  
 ‘ your to excuse and disable your self for  
 ‘ the place of Speaker ; In answer where-  
 ‘ of, His Majesty hath commanded me  
 ‘ to say to you, That he doth in no sort  
 ‘ admit of the same ; For his Majesty  
 ‘ hath had long experience of your Abi-  
 ‘ lities, good Affection, Integrity and  
 ‘ Resolution in several employments of  
 ‘ great Trust and Weight : He knows  
 ‘ you have been long a Parliament-man,  
 ‘ and

' and therefore every way fitted and  
 ' qualified for the Employment: Besides,  
 ' he cannot disapprove the Election of  
 ' this House of Commons, especially  
 ' where they have expressed so much  
 ' Duty in choosing one Worthy and Ac-  
 ' ceptable to him. And therefore the  
 ' King doth allow of the Election, and  
 ' admits you for Speaker.

Sir *Job Charlton* seeing his excuse could  
 not be admitted, but that notwithstanding  
 his Majesty had confirmed the Com-  
 mons Choice by his Royal Approbation,  
 spake as follows:

Great SIR,

*Since it is Your Gracious Pleasure not to  
 S accept of my humble Excuse, but by  
 Your Royal Approbation to fix me under this  
 Great, though Honourable Weight, and to  
 think me fit to be invested with a Trust of  
 so high a nature as this is.*

*I take it in the first place to be incumbent  
 upon me, that I render Your Majesty all  
 possible thanks, which I now humbly do with  
 a heart full of all Duty, and affected with  
 a deeper sense of Gratitude than I can find  
 words to express.*

*Next, from Your Royal Determination in this Affair, whereby you have imprinted a new Character upon me, I take courage against my own diffidence, and chearfully bend my self with such strength and abilities as God shall give to the Service so graciously designed me; no way doubting, that Your Majesty will please to pardon my Frailties, to accept of my faithful Endeavours, and always to look favourably on the Work of Your own hands.*

*And now Sir, my first Entrance upon this Service, obliges me to make a few necessary, but humble Petitions on the behalf of Your most Loyal and Dutiful House of Commons.*

1. That for our better Attendance on the Publick Service, we and our Servants may be free in our Persons and Estates from Arrests and other Disturbances.
2. That in our Debates, Liberty and Freedom of Speech be allowed us.
3. That as occasions shall require, Your Majesty upon our humble Suit, and at such times as Your Majesty shall judge seasonable, will vouchsafe us access to Your Royal Person.

4. That

2. That all our Proceedings may receive a favourable Construction.

That God, who hath brought You back to the Throne of Your Fathers, and with You all our Comforts, grant You a long and a prosperous Reign, and send you Victory over all Your Enemies, and every good mans heart will say, *Amen.*

To which the Lord Chancellour reply'd :

*Mr. Speaker,*

**T**He Kings Majesty hath heard and well weighed your short and Eloquent Oration ; And in the first place much approves that you have with so much advantage, introduced a shorter way of speaking upon this occasion : His Majesty doth well accept of all those *dutiful* and *affectionate* Expressions in which you have delivered your Submission to his Royal Pleasure ; And looks upon it as a *good Omen* to his Affairs, and as an Evidence that the *House of Commons* have still the same *Heart*, that have chosen such a *Mouth*. The conjuncture of time, and the King and Kingdoms Affairs re-

'quire such a House of Commons, such a  
 'Speaker; for with Reverence to the  
 'holy Scripture, upon this occasion the  
 'King may say, *He that is not with me is*  
 'against me; for he that doth not now  
 'put his *Hand* and *Heart* to support the  
 'King in the common cause of this King-  
 'dom, can hardly ever hope for such  
 'another opportunity, or find a time  
 'to make satisfaction for the *Omission*  
 'of this.

'Next, I am commanded by his Ma-  
 'jesty to answer your four Petitions,  
 'whereof the first being, *The freedom*  
 'of you and your Servants in your Persons  
 'and Estates, without Arrest or other di-  
 'sturbance, the King is graciously pleased  
 'to grant it as full as to any of your Pre-  
 'decessors.

'The Second for *Liberty and Freedom*  
 'of Speech; the Third for *Access* to his  
 'Royal Person. And the Fourth, That  
 'your proceedings may receive a *Favourable*  
 'construction, are all freely and fully  
 'granted by his Majesty.

During



During the time of his Chancellourship he lived at *Exeter-House* in the *Strand*, and managed and maintained all things with a Port and Bravery suitable to the Greatness and Dignity of his place; exceeding therein all who have enjoyed that Honour in his Majesties Raig: as will appear by the manner of his proceeding from his House to *Westminster-hall*, the first day of *Hilary* Term, *January* 23. being the first Term after his receiving the Seal.

In the Morning the Twelve Judges, and the several Officers of the High Court of Chancery, together with the whole Body of the Law, repaired to *Exeter-house*, where they were entertain'd at a splendid and magnificent Treat by his Lordship; which being ended, he proceeded (according to the ancient and laudable Custom) to *Westminster* in the following Order.

#### First went

The Beadles,  
The Constables,  
The High Constable,  
The Tipstaves,

The

The Cryer of the Court,  
 The Gentlemen Clerks,  
 The Sixty Clerks of the Chancery,  
 The Master of the *Subpœna* Office,  
 The Master of the *Affidavit*,  
 The Students of the Inns of Court,  
 The Curfitors,  
 The Clerk of the Patents,  
 The Registers,  
 The Barristers at Law,  
 The Clerks of the Hanaper,  
 The Prothonotary.  
 The Clerk of the Crown,  
 The Examiners,  
 The Clerks of the Petty Bag.  
 The Six Clerks.

Then proceeded the following Officers,  
 being all of them bare :

The Sealer to the Great Seal,  
 The Chafe Wax to the Great Seal,  
 The Usher of the Court,  
 The Master of the Rolls's Gentlemen,  
 The Lord Chancellors Gentlemen,  
 The Secretaries,  
 The Steward of the House, and War-  
 den of the Fleet,  
 The Gentleman Usher,

The

The Seal-bearer, carrying the Purse  
wherein was the Great Seal,

The Serjeant at Arms attending the  
Great Seal, carrying the Mace,

After whom came the Lord High  
Chancellor himself on Horse-back,  
being richly Array'd.

The Gentleman of his Horse, attended  
by a Page, a Groom, and Six Foot-  
men walking along by his Stirrup.

Next to the Lord High Chancellor fol-  
lowed The Lord Chief Justice, The  
Master of the Rolls, The Lord Chief  
Baron of the Exchequer, and the rest  
of the Judges according to their Seig-  
niority.

And last of all came The Kings Serjeant  
at Law, The Kings Attorney-General,  
The Kings Solicitor-General, The  
Kings Council, The Duke of *Yorks*  
Attorney, and his Solicitor, together  
with the several Masters of Chancery.

In which Order they pass'd all along  
the *Strand* by *White-hall* through *Kings-*  
*street*, and so to *Westminster-hall*, the  
Streets being Lined with abundance of  
crouding Spectators; who were exceed-  
ingly

ingly pleased with the Decency and Gallantry thereof.

All the time he enjoyed the Chancellorship, he managed it with as much Honour and Advantage to his Majesty, as any that ever did or will enjoy it. And that not only upon the Bench, but in the Senate too; wherein he endeavoured to the uttermost of his Power to vindicate his Majesties Actions; and by his admirable Eloquence labour'd to prevent or remove any Misunderstandings and Jealousies between the King and his Parliament, as appears by the many excellent Speeches he made to the Two Houses, when he was the mouth of the King to his People; and had the Honour to be more successful therein then any who have succeeded him in that Honourable Station. His sentiments of, and veneration for his Sovereign, and the smooth and charming Eloquence wherewith he fluently expressed himself upon all occasions, sufficiently appear in that Speech which he made to the Lord Treasurer, *December* the 5<sup>th</sup> 1672. upon his taking his Oath before him in the Exchequer.

*My Lord Treasurer,*

‘ **T**He Kings most Excellent Majesty  
 ‘ knowing your Integrity, Abili-  
 ‘ ties and Experience in his Affairs, and  
 ‘ particularly those of his Treasury, hath  
 ‘ thought fit to make choice of you to  
 ‘ be his Lord High Treasurer of *England*,  
 ‘ and what necessarily accompanies that  
 ‘ place, hath by his Letters Patents un-  
 ‘ der the Great Seal, made you Treasu-  
 ‘ rer of his Exchequer.

‘ The Lord High Treasurer of *En-  
 glands* Office, is held by the Kings  
 ‘ delivery of the White-Staff; The  
 ‘ Treasurers of the Exchequer hath ever  
 ‘ been held by Letters Patents; And is  
 ‘ that by which your Lordship is more  
 ‘ immediately intituled to be a Chief  
 ‘ Judge of this Court.

‘ It were too nice and tedious, and  
 ‘ peradventure too formal, to give an  
 ‘ account of the several distinct Powers  
 ‘ of these two Offices, Reason and the  
 ‘ length of time hath now so woven  
 ‘ them together. But as they are both  
 ‘ in your Lordship, I may justly say you  
 ‘ are in a place of the first Rank, as to  
 ‘ Dignity, Power, Trust, and Influence  
 ‘ of Affairs. A place that requires such

' a Man as our great Masters Wisdom  
 ' hath found for it ; from whose Natu-  
 ' ral temper we may expect Courage,  
 ' Quickness and Resolution ; from whose  
 ' Education, Wisdom and Experience ;  
 ' and from whose Extraction, that No-  
 ' ble and Illustrious House of the *Clif-*  
 ' *fords*, an Heroick Mind, a large Soul,  
 ' and an unshaken Fidelity to the  
 ' Crown.

' My Lord, it's a great Honour much  
 ' beyond even the place it self, that you  
 ' are chosen to it by this King, who  
 ' without Flattery I may say, is as great  
 ' a Master in the knowledge of Men and  
 ' Things, as this or any other Age hath  
 ' produced : And let me say farther, It  
 ' is not only your Honour that you are  
 ' chosen by Him, but it is your Safety  
 ' too, that you have him to serve, with  
 ' whom no subtile Insinuations of any  
 ' near him, nor the aspiring Interest of  
 ' a Favourite, shall ever prevail against  
 ' those that serve him well. Nor can  
 ' his Servants fear to be sacrificed to the  
 ' Malice, Fury or Mistake of a more  
 ' swelling Popular greatness ; a Prince  
 ' under whom the unfortunate fall gent-  
 ' ly ; a Prince, in a word, that best of  
 ' all

‘ all Mankind deserves that Title, *Deliciae humani generis*.

‘ My Lord, I will not hold you long,  
 ‘ for you have a Journey to go ; after  
 ‘ you have taken your Oath, and your  
 ‘ place in this Court, you are (according  
 ‘ to ancient Custom) to visit all the Of-  
 ‘ fices in the upper and lower Exche-  
 ‘ quer ; and therefore let me end with  
 ‘ this Wish, or rather Propheſie, That  
 ‘ you may exceed all your Predeceſſors,  
 ‘ the Abilities and Fidelity of the Re-  
 ‘ nowned Lord *Burleigh* ; the Sagacity,  
 ‘ Quickneſs, and great diſpatch of his  
 ‘ Son the Lord *Salisbury* ; and the Up-  
 ‘ rightneſs, Integrity and Wiſdom of that  
 ‘ great Man that went laſt before you  
 ‘ the Earl of *Southampton*.

And as the E. endeavors were inceſſant  
 to ſerve his Sovereign, ſo he was no leſs  
 ſolicitous to ſerve the Publick good, en-  
 deavoring to make the Courts of Judica-  
 ture ( as much as poſſible ) anſwer the  
 Ends for which they were deſigned, *viz.*  
 The eaſe of the Subject, labouring to  
 have the Kings Prerogative and the Sub-  
 jects Property ſo interwoven, that they  
 might always be inſeparable ; as appears  
 by that excellent Speech made by him  
 in

in the Exchequer, *January 24. 1673.* at  
 Serjeant *Thurlands* taking the Oath, in  
 order to be made a Baron, as followeth:

*Mr. Serjeant Thurland;*

‘ **T**He King of his Grace and Favour  
 ‘ hath made choice of you to be  
 ‘ one of the Barons of the Exchequer ;  
 ‘ he designed to place you in a Court of  
 ‘ more profit, though not of more Dig-  
 ‘ nity ; but your own modesty hath  
 ‘ chosen this Court, where you thought  
 ‘ you could serve the King best : and I  
 ‘ could not choose but mention it here  
 ‘ to your Honour ; it being the greatest  
 ‘ Instance of a good Man, That he had  
 ‘ rather be found serviceable than rich.  
 ‘ His Majesty hath had large proof of  
 ‘ your former Service : besides, he takes  
 ‘ you upon the Credit of that Recom-  
 ‘ mendation, that hath justly the best place  
 ‘ with him, I mean his Royal Brothers.  
 ‘ Some few things it is fit I should here  
 ‘ mention to you, and leave with you as  
 ‘ Admonitions, or rather Remembrances.  
 ‘ In the first place, you are to main-  
 ‘ tain the Kings Prerogative ; and let not  
 ‘ the Kings Prerogative, and the Law, be  
 ‘ two things with you ; for the Kings  
 ‘ Prerogative is Law, and the principal  
 ‘ part



of it: Therefore in maintaining that, you maintain the Law. The Government of *England* is so excellently interwoven, that every part of the Prerogative hath a broad mixture of the Interest of the Subject; the ease and safety of the People being inseparable from the greatness and security of the Crown.

In the next place let me advise you, that you acquaint your self with the Revenue, as also the ancient Records, Precedents and Practices of this Court; for want of which knowledge, I have seen this Court a most excellent Common Pleas; when at the same time I could not say so much for it as an Exchequer.

In the Third place, Let me recommend to you, so to manage the Kings Justice and the Revenue, as the King may have most profit, and the Subjects least Vexation. Raking for old Debts, the number of Informations, Projects upon Concealments, I could not find (in the Eleven years Experience I have had in this Court) ever to advantage the Crown; but such proceedings have (for the most part) delivered up the Kings good Sub-

'jects into the hands of the worst of  
'Men.

'There is another thing I have ob-  
'served in this Court which I shall mind  
'you of ; which is, when the Court  
'hearkens too much to the Clerks and  
'Officers of it, and are too apt to send  
'out Process, when the Money may be  
'raised by other ways, more easie to  
'the People. I do not say that the  
'Kings Duty should be lost, or that  
'the strictest course should not be ta-  
'ken, rather then that be ; for when  
'you consider how much the Officers  
'of this Court, and the Under-sheriffs  
'get by Process upon small Sums, more  
'then the Kings Duty comes to ; and  
'upon what sort of People this falls,  
'(viz.) The Farmer, Husbandman and  
'Clothier in the Country, that is gene-  
'rally the Collector, Constable and  
'Tythingman, and so disturbs the la-  
'titudinous part of the Nation, you will  
'think it fit to make that the last way,  
'when no other will serve.

'Give me leave also to mind you of  
'one thing more, it is in your Oath,  
'That the Kings Needs ye shall speed be-  
'fore all others : that is, the business of  
'the Revenue of the Crown you are to

to show and to  
dispatch before all other, and not turn  
your Court into a Court of Common-  
Pleas, and let that juttle out what you  
were consulted for.

In the last place, Let me conclude  
with what concerns all my Lords the  
Judges as well as you, let me recom-  
mend to you the Port and Way of  
Living suitable to the Dignity of your  
Place, and what the King allows you.  
There is not any thing that gains more  
Reputation and Respect to the Govern-  
ment then that doth; and let me tell  
you Magistrates as well as Merchants  
are supported by their Reputation.

To his successful Counsel do both  
King and Kingdom owe the happy Con-  
duct of Affairs for many years toge-  
ther; the events of his Advices always  
agreeing with, and answering the Ends  
for which they were at first proposed;  
so that the King seldom fail'd of any  
thing that was carried on by his dire-  
ction; for which reason, his wife Ad-  
ministration and management of Things,  
had as it were incorporated him into  
the very Heart of his Prince: So that  
all Men began now to conclude, That  
this great Man (whose constant Loyalty

had render'd him so dear to His Majesty) was too firmly fix'd and rooted in the Royal Favour, than ever to be removed, or alienated therefrom; since he did, as most Men imagin'd, sit so high, and withal so safely, that he was above the reach of Envy, or the possibility of being undermined by any subtle and false Insinuations, or sacrific'd to the malice of any aspiring Favourite. Yet Fortune, who is always fickle, and constant in nothing but inconstancy, never proved more false to any than she did to him. And his unshaken faithfulness to His Majesty, from whose Interest no Temptation could ever allure him, together with the Figure he made, and the High Station wherein he deservedly stood, was so far from defending him against, that it subjected him to the Envy, and exposed him to the spleenful hate, and insatiable Revenge of those who became his inveterate and implacable Enemies; for no other reason, than his extraordinary Zeal, to have His Majesty safe in his Person, by being Great in the Hearts of his Subjects, and Reign without a Competitor, and thereby become Formidable to his Enemies; and be able (like his Predecessors) to give  
Laws

Laws to the Neighbouring Princes. The only way to promote the publick Good, maintain the Security of Religion, the Safety of the Government, and advance the Honour of the *English* Nation.

Wherefore they having resolved upon his ruine; and knowing that the higher he mounted the more likely he would be to fall, and if he did fall, it would be with the greater precipitancy and danger: They rack'd all their Inventions, and improved all their Interest at Court to have him advanc'd to higher Honour, although he was already exalted, even above his own Ambition, and thereby involved into so much danger, that he was forced every Night to keep a constant Guard about his House, thereby to secure his Person from the bloody Attempts of Popish *Assassins*, or *Remay* Godfediters. So that this hopeful project not succeeding according to expectation, may be read by the future Ages in the *Royal* Chronicle, to his immortal Glory, and the Shame and infamy of his Enemies.

But although they were not able with all their combined Strengths to trample him into an Ignominious Grave, yet they quickly after found an occasion

sion of Triumph, upon the taking from him his Honourable Employment, to which he ascended upon abundance of Merit, used with abundance of Impartiality, and resigned with as much Innocency and Honour, in the following manner:

About November 1673. The King was pleased to send for his Lordship to *Whitehall*; where, upon His Majesties Command, he resigned the Great Seal of *England* to be disposed of as His Majesty should think fit. And thus this mighty Minister of State (who had, to the satisfaction and admiration of all good Men, and to the hurt and prejudice (and therefore to the hate and envy) of none but the Papists, improved that Power whereunto the Grace and Favour of his Sovereign had raised him) did, without any kind of murmuring or repining, lay it down again at the Feet of him from whom he at first derived it. Never abating of his usual Briskness, nor altering the natural cheerfulness of his Temper, upon the loss of his Honorary Places: but on the contrary, when he had delivered the Seal, he

he put on his Sword; accounting it as much Honour and Happiness to walk with that by his side unenvied, as to have the Mace and Purse carried before him with abundance of Emulation and Grudge, besides danger.

In the Afternoon he was visited at his Mansion-house by his Highness Prince *Rupert*, and divers other Peers and Gentlemen of Quality, who gratefully acknowledged themselves to be extremely oblig'd by his just and honest discharge of that Trust which had been reposed in him, for which they returned him thanks.

And many whose tedious or difficult Suits were discharged by his dexterity and wisdom, will ever remember him with Honour and Veneration. For by his admirable Prudence, deep Judgment, and quick Apprehension, he used pressingly, and that with abundance of Facility and Ease, to penetrate into the most intricate and difficult Causes, and disperse those Cloudy Mists wherewith the subtle Lawyer had darkened and perplexed the just and Honest Title; as the Author of the Character of a Loyal Statesman ingeniously expresses

it

*His*

he put on his sword : according to it as  
 much Honour, which he  
 to *Strait sail'd the boat that safe Flaw*  
 place and time carried before  
 And through all Fogs, distant from the  
 press'd the danger

*Benign'd delays, and for this Noble Peer*  
*Because a Star of Honour in our Sphere,*  
*A needful Atlas of our State, &c.*

And indeed he manag'd the Court of  
 Chancery with such an dexterity by Judge-  
 ment and Uprightness, that forced even  
 those who lost the Cause, to admire his  
 sagacity; and confess the equality of his  
 Justice.

And many whole tedious or-din-  
 suits were discharged by his dexterity  
 and wisdom, with ever so much speed and  
 with Honour and Satisfaction. For by  
 his admirable Wisdom, deep Judgment,  
 and quick Apprehension, he might pre-

terly, and that with abundance of  
 cility and Ease, to penetrate into the most  
 intricate and difficult Causes, and di-  
 spose those Cloudy Mists wherewith  
 the subtle Lawyer had darkened and

plexed the just and honest Time;  
 as the Author of the Character of a  
 loyal State-man ingeniously expresses





THE  
SECOND PART  
OF  
RALEIGH  
Redeivibus.

**T**HE discarding the great  
*SHAFTSBURY*, was  
some abatement to the ex-  
cessive sorrow of his *Papish*-  
~~his~~ Enemies, and proved  
a seasonable allay to that tormenting  
Grief, which, peradventure, might o-  
therwise, *Vulter*-like, have prey'd upon,  
and fretted and consumed their Vitals,  
and thereby have saved the World from  
that trouble it hath already felt, and  
G may

may expect from them. But not containing themselves with his being discarded, resolved still to prosecute his ruin, and thereby render their revenge the more full and compleat. And in order thereunto, they first vainly attempted to Murder his unblemished Reputation, and bring his Loyalty into Suspicion, and then, with an infernal Impudence, accused him of *High-Treason*; (the same Project, whereby they have since so often unsuccessfully attempted his ruin) obliging Colonel——to pursue and prosecute the Accuation; and to make him the more capable of performing it, they did with all the Art and Industry, wherewith *Hell* and *Rome* could furnish them, make a narrow search, and exact scrutiny into the several Offices he had passed through, hoping there, to find some casual accident or other, which might by their *Helish Policy*, have been improved to *High-Treason*; well knowing that sudden surprize, the want of a true information, or the falling short of a full and clear understanding of some material Circumstances, might expose the most profound and exactest Judge in the World, to a mistake in Judgment. Yet, to their amazement, and anguish, and the glory, and of that

that Divine Providence, whereby the Almighty, who fore-sees the issue and events of all sublunary Actions, wisely orders, and disposes all things to the advantage of the favourites of *Heaven*, they found no such casual slips, or oversights in his management, that could any way answer the pains they had taken in searching the *Records* of his Actions, or favour the Designs they were carrying on against him. For, having with a complicated malice, and impatiency of destroying him, who of all others, stood most in the way of their other Designs, amaz'd together, and mustered up all the worst things which those *Infallible Vipers*, by the force of their *Roman Venom*, were able to draw, and attract out of the *Court Rolls*, so digested and phrased, as might best serve the purpose to which they were designed, and presented them to the King's Learned Council, in the Law, for their judgment, whether there were any thing contained therein, upon which they might find matter whereon to ground an accusation of *Treason*. They did, after a serious perusal of the several particulars, and pretended Crimes, affirm to their everlasting Honour, that there was nothing which amounted to *Treason*,

( 4 )  
tained therein. So that all their pains and industry, noise and clamour, served to no other purpose, than the exposing there own folly and wickedness, and the making His Loyalty and Justice, shine with the more brightness and splendour; and the giving him a fresh provocation, as well as future opportunity, to pry more narrowly into, and with the greater vigour, oppose their *Machivilian* Designs, against His *Sovereign*, the *Protestant Religion*. & the interest of *Brittain*; and thereby sadly frustrate their *BUDDING HOPS*,

Nor was it long before their pregnant and groaning Designs, gave him an occasion to demonstrate his Zeal therein; for about *April*, or *May*, 1675. an odd kind of a Bill was unexpectedly offered one Morning in the *House of Lords*, whereby all such as enjoyed any beneficial Offices or Employments, *Ecclesiastical*, *Civil*, or *Military*: to which was added, *Privy-Councillor*, *Justices of the Peace*, and *Members of Parliament*, were under a penalty to take the *Oath*, and make the Declaration and Abhorrence ensuing,

I A. B. Do Declare, That it is not lawful  
upon any pretence whatsoever, to take  
up Arms against the King; And that I do  
abhor

abhor that Trayterous position, of taking Arms by His Authority, against His Person, or those that are Commission'd by Him in pursuance of such Commission. And I do Swear, That I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of Government, either in Church or State. So help me God.

The same Oath was brought in the House of Commons, in the Plague Year, at Oxford, and great endeavours used to have it impoled upon the Nation; but was strenuously opposed by the very same persons, that now introduced it into the House of Lords, and by their assistance, thrown out as a pernicious thing, tending to the general infecting the Vitals of the Kingdom. And although it then passed in a particular Bill, commonly known by the Name of the *Five Mile Act*, because it only concerned the *Nonconformist Preachers*; yet, even in that, it was mightily opposed by that faithful Friend to the Crown, the late Earl of Southampton, whose sentiments and judgment, in an Affair of that Nature, might certainly have been accounted the Platform and Standard of Prudence and Loyalty. This Oath they said was but a little thing, being only a

moderate security to the *Church and Crown*. Yet, their so stiffly defending it, when opposed by His Lordship, and others, together with their fierce and united endeavours, to have it pass the *House*, made all thinking men suspect that there was some extraordinary Design wrapt up in it; and therefore contended for by them, not as a trifle, but a thing of that weight, that the whole stress of Affairs depended thereon. And indeed the Word Commission, as it was there to be taken, was of an extraordinary Extent and Latitude: for if it should have been for taking away Estate or Life, by force; or if the person Commissionated were under never so many disabilities, by *Acts of Parliament*, yet, the taking that Oath, would have removed all those Incapacities, or his Commission would have ended the dispute.

So that it came at last to be one of the greatest Contest, perhaps, that ever happened in *Parliament*; wherein his Lordship, and divers, other Illustrious Peers, being assured of their own Loyalty and Merit, stood up against the Oath, and pleaded for the Antient *English Liberties*: with the same Pious Vertue, and Heroick Courage, and Resolution, where-

wherewith their Noble *Ancestors* had formerly defended the great *Stem* of *England*; only they deserved far greater Commendation and Honour, in regard they grappled with far greater difficulties, and had not so fair a Field to engage in, but fought it out, under all the disadvantages imaginable; being overlaid by numbers, and the noise of the *House*, like the wind, baring hard upon them: nor, being so few, could they as their Adversaries, withdraw to refresh themselves, in a whole days engagement, yet, never was there a fuller demonstration. How dull a thing humane eloquence is, and how small and inconsiderable! The most towering and insulting greatness, when bright Truth discovers all things in their proper colours, and demerits, and like the Sun, shoots its enlightning Rayes through all their fallacies. The Dispute lasted many days, with much eagerness on both sides, and was so warmly opposed, that the *Parliament* was Prorogued before the *Lords* came to any Resolution about it, but in the next Sessions, they ordered it to be burnt: It might be injurious to the rest of the Noble *Lords*, who took part with him therein, to attribute the whole suc-

*Charter*

els to him ; yet, the Promoters accused him of having first opposed it, and that he and the Duke of *Buckingham*, stirred up, and influenced the rest.

And therefore the Popish Party, who, it's probable, hop'd to have reaped the greatest advantage by that Oath banded against him, with as much fierceness as ever ; and although they had failed of Murthering his Person, yet, resolved to accomplish the ruine of his Reputation, influencing several *Protestants*, as well *Clergy*, as *Laiety*, to lend their helping hand to this great Work. The former were to bespatter him in their Pulpits, as if they were Conjuring down the Devil, instead of commending the Blessed Jesus, in the Tenders of the Gospel. The other were to bespatter him with their Pens, thereby to procure him the hatred of the Vulgar, who commonly take up things upon Trust, and believe every thing they read to be true ; and because they could procure no better, they employed *Needham*, a mercenary Wretch, who had, with an audacious impudence, and unparalell'd virulency, Writ against two Kings ; (*Viz.*) Our present *Soueraign*, and His *Royal Father*, and therefore the more fit for such an undertaking.

His



His first Essay, was in a Libellous Pamphlet, called, *Advice to the Men of Shaftsbury*, wherein he falsely charged him with many fictitious Crimes, and imaginary Designs, against the Government.

And thus having prepared the way to his ruine, (as they imagined) they hoped to accomplish, ~~by~~ <sup>it</sup> an accident which happened quickly after in the ensuing Parliament, which met *February 15th. 1676.* after 15 months Prorogation upon this occasion. As soon as the King had finished his Speech, the Commons withdrew, and the Lords had taken their Respective Seats : The Duke of *Buckingham*, who usually says what he thinks, stood up and argued with great strength of reason, that according to the Laws and Constitution of Parliaments, that un-  
presidented Prorogation was null, and the Parliament consequently Dissolved, offering moreover to maintain it to all the Judges ; and desiring, as hath been usual in such Cases, That they might give their Opinions ; but a certain Lord fancying himself a better Judge of that weighty Point in Law, moved that the Duke of *Buckingham* might be called to the Bar ; whereupon his Lordship stood up and opposed it as an extravagant motion,

tion, and ascertain'd the validity of *Buckingham's* Proposals with all the Cicilian height of Courage and Reason. Whereupon another Lord of no less consideration, than the former, who had called the Duke to the Bar, stood up in as great pet, as if the Salt had been thrown down, or some such like ominous accident had happened, and with abundance of earnestness renewed the motion for calling the Duke to the Bar; but there were too many Lords between for that motion to succeed, and advice was brought every moment from the House of Commons that the things was yet in agitation, among them which gave his Lordship an opportunity to appear with extraordinary vigour in, ~~defence~~ of the Duke's Person, and his Proposal, so that the Earl seem'd more properly another Principle than the Duke's Second: Whereupon the Lord *Chancellor*, therefore undertook on the contrary to make the Prorogation look very formidable, laying the best colour upon it, and the worst upon his Opponents. Thus, for five or six hours, it grew to be a fixed Debate; many arguing it on both sides in a regular method, until they received the welcome News, that the Commons were  
 risen

defence

risen without doing any thing; whereupon the greater number called for the Question, and had it in the affirmative, that the Debate should be laid aside.

And thus being ~~satisfied~~, but not satisfied *flesh.* with their Victory, they fell desperately upon them, who had affirmed the dissolution the same night, and the next day voted his Lordship with the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Lord Wharton, to be committed to the Tower, under the Notion of Contempt, during his Majesties, and the Houses pleasures. The Contempt for which they were committed, was their refusing to recant their Opinions, and ask pardon of the King, and the House of Lords, notwithstanding the liberty and freedom of Speech, which His Majesty verbally, and of course allows them at the opening of every Parliament. The Warrant for the committing his Lordship, together with the Earl of Salisbury, and the Lord Wharton; ran Thus,

**O** Rdered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, That the Constable of his Majesties Tower of London; his Deputies shall reserve the Bodies

*Bodies of James Earl of Salisbury, Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury, and Philip Lord Wharton, Members of this House, and keep them in safe Custody within the said Tower during his Majesties Pleasure, and the Pleasure of this House, for their high Contempts committed against this House: And this shall be your sufficient Warrant on that behalf.*

To the Constable  
of the Tower.

J. Brown, Cler. Par.

**T**HE four Lords continued in the Tower so long, that the Parliament was several times Adjourned during their Confinement, which his Lordship bore with abundance of patience, and incredible chearfulness, considering the many weakneses and infirmities of Body he then laboured under: They expected to have been Released, at least of course, by Prorogation; but Adjournments was so much in use at that time, that it made them despair of being releived that way, wherefore finding no end of their Captivity, they looked upon the procuring their Liberty to deserve as much care as others took to retain

tain them in durance ; to which end, they, each of them, chose the method he judged most proper.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Wharton*, upon their application to His Majesty by a Petition, were enlarged : But *Shaftsbury* could not come off so ; for having made his Addresses to His Majesty in an humble Petition, to be restored to his Liberty and the Favour of his Majesty ; he found the Royal Ear deaf to his Suite, and no relief to be obtained that way.

Whereupon, his Lordship applied himself to the Court of *Kings-Bench*, the constant Residence of His Majesties Justice, whether he was brought *Wednesday, Jan. 27. 1677.* upon the Return of an *Alias Habeas Corpus*, directed to the Constable of the Tower ; and there being some dispute about the sufficiency of the Return, his Council prays to have the Return filled, and *Friday* appointed to debate the sufficiency of it ; which being granted, the Earl was re-manded back again unto the Tower.

On *Friday* morning his Lordship was brought up again, and then the Case was strongly and learnedly argued on both sides ; and after the discussing the Point about

about the sufficiency of the Return, then Mr. Williams, Mr. Wallop, and Mr. Smith, who were Council for his Lordship, gave divers weighty Reasons in the Earls behalf, that the Court might and ought to relieve him.

The Attorney and Solicitor Generals argued the contrary; shewing divers Causes why that Court could not relieve a person committed by Parliament. So soon as they had done, the Earl stood, up and in an Elegant Speech spake for himself, and directing him self to the Court, delivered himself to this Effect :

MY LORDS,

**I** Did not intend to have spoken one word in this business, but something hath been objected, and laid to my charge by the Kings Council, Mr. Attorney, and Mr. Solicitor : that inforces me to say something for your better satisfaction. They have told you, that my Council in their Arguments said, That this Court was greater than the House of Peers, which I dare to appeal to your Lordships and the whole Court, that it was never spoken by them, I am sure it was not spoken by any direction of mine : What is done by my Council and by me, is, That this Court is the most proper place to resort unto in those

those Cases where the Liberty of the Subject is concerned. The Lords House is the Supreme Court of Judicature in the Kingdom, but yet there is a Jurisdiction which the Lords House do not meddle with. The Kings Council mentioned as a wonder, that a Member of the Lords House should come hither, and thereby diminish the Jurisdiction of that Court. I acknowledg them to be superiour to this or, any Court in England. To whom all Appeals, and Writs of Error are brought; and yet there is a Jurisdiction that they do not challenge, and which is not natural to them or proper for them. They claim not to meddle in Original Cases, and so I might mention in other things: And I do not think it a kindness to any Power or Body of Men, to give them a Power or Jurisdiction, which is not natural or proper to their Constitutions. I do not think it would be any kindness to the Lords to make them absolute and above the Law, for so I humbly conceive this must do if it be adjudged that they, by a general Warrant, or without any particular Cause assigned, do commit me or anyman to a perpetual and indefinite Imprisonment: And my Lords, I am not so inconsiderable a person, but what you do in my Case must be Law for every man in England. Mr. Attorney

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is pleased to say I am a Member of the Lords House, and to lay wait on the word Member.

It's true, I am one of them, and no man hath a greater reverence and esteem for the Lords than my self: But I hope, my being a Peer, or a Member of either House, shall not lose my priviledg of being an English-man, or make me to have the less Title to Magna Charta, or the other Laws of English Liberty. My Opinion is not with one of my Council, who argued very learnedly, that the passing an Act by the Kings Royal Assent can not make a Session, because the usual Promise was not in it. It was without any instruction of mine that he mentioned that Point. The Kings Council tells your Lordships of the Laws, and Customs of Parliaments; and if this were so, I should submit; but this Case of mine, is *primæ impressionis*; and is a new way, such as neither Mr. Attorney, nor Mr. Solicitor, can shew any President of; and I have no other remedy or place to apply my self to, than the way I take.

Mr. Attorney confesseth, that the Kings Pleasure may Release me without the Lords: if so, this Court is *Coram Rege*; This is the proper place to determine the Kings Pleasure. This Court will and ought to judge of  
and



an Act of Parliament, null and void if it be against Magna Charta, much more may judge an order of the House that is put in Execution to deprive any Subject of his Liberty. And if this Order or Commitment be a Judgment as the King's Council affirms, then it is out of the Lords hands, and properly before your Lordships, as much as the Acts which were lately passed, which I presume you will not refuse to Judge of; notwithstanding Mr. Attorney General saith, this Parliament is yet in being, yet, I take it something ill, that he tells me, I might have applied elsewhere.

My Lords, they speak much of the custom of Parliament, but I do affirm there is no custom of Parliament, that ever their own Members should be put out of their own power, and the inconveniences will be endless.

Mr. Attorney was pleased easily to answer the Objection of one of my Council, if a great Minister be so committed, he hath the Cure of a Pardon, a Prorogation, or a Dissolution; But if the Case should be put, why forty Members, or a greater number, may not as well be taken away, without Remedy in any of the King's Courts, he will not so easily answer. And if there can be no relief in this Case, no Man can foresee what will be hereafter.

*I desire your Lordships well to consider what Rule you make in my Case, for it will be a president that may in future Ages, concern every Man in England. My Lord, Mr. Attorney saith, you either can release, or remand me ; I differ from him in that Opinion ; I do not insist upon a Release ; I have been a Prisoner above five Months already, and came hither of necessity, having no other way to get my Liberty, and therefore am very willing to tender your Lordship Bail, which are in or near the Court, as good as any are in England, either for their Estate or Quality ; and I am ready to give any sum or number.*

*My Lords, this Court being now possess'd of this business, I am now your Prisoner.*

The Court having heard all that could be said, *pro* and *con*, on both sides, delivered their Opinions *Seriatim* ; one of the Judges indeed was not there in Person, but he adventured however (to shew the exactness of his Justice) to depute Judge Jones to speak for him, when it came to his turn, and declare (although he had not heard what his Lordships Council, or himself, could say) that it was his Opinion, his Lordship ought to be remanded, and the rest of the Court unanimously

animously concurring with the Opinion of their absent Brother, he was by them remanded back again to the *Tower* according.

And thus his Lordship, being denied redress in the Court of *Kings-Bench*, remained a Prisoner in the *Tower*, until the *February* following; and then on the fourteenth of that Month, the *Parliament* being then sitting, he presented a Petition to the *House of Lords*, wherein he makes a very humble submission, both to His Majesty, and the *House of Peers*: but they objecting against the Petitions he had presented to His Majesty, as not having made a satisfactory acknowledgment of his Crimes, after some debate, rejected this Petition.

Whereupon the weak condition he was then brought into, by his confinement, requiring speedy enlargement, he presented another Petition to His Majesty, and likewise to the *House of Lords*, in both which he renewed his Supplication, to be released from his imprisonment. And not only acknowledged with all humble submission, That his endeavouring to maintain the *Parliaments* being Dissolv'd, was an ill advised Action; (and so must every Man acknowledg,

who will strive in vain to sail against Wind and Tide,) but in the most submissive Terms, assured them, that he was ready to make what further acknowledgment and submission they should require, and that in the way and manner too, which they should please to direct ; yet, unfortunate Earl, he could not obtain his Liberty upon these Terms neither, another pretence being then laid hold on, for the prolonging his Imprisonment. Which was the horrid Crime of endeavouring his enlargement, by applying himself to the Court of *Kings-Bench*, in order to his being admitted to Bail. And yet, a certain Gentleman in the World, who had at that time, a mighty influence upon Affairs, and improved this imaginary fault, as much as possible, to the prejudice of the Earl ; hath since that time, been himself, guilty of the supposed Crime. And not only so, but hath rendred himself also more pertinacious therein, by his reiterated applications to that Court, to take Bail for him.

*His Lordships Second Petition, to the House of Lords, was as follows :*

To

To the Right Honourable the  
Lords Spiritual and Temporal,  
in Parliament Assembled.

The humble Petition of *Anthony*  
Earl of *SHAFTSBURY*,

Sheweth,

**T**hat your Petitioner on the 16th. of February, 1676. was committed Prisoner to the Tower of London, by your Lordships, because he did not obey your Lordships Order, where he hath continued in close confinement to the great decay of his Health, and danger of his Life, as well as prejudice of his Estate, and Family. In all humble Obedience therefore unto your Lordships, he doth acknowledge, That his endeavouring to maintain that this Parliament is Dissolved, was an ill advised Action, for which he humbly begs the Pardon of the King's Majesty, and of this most Honourable House; and doth in all humble Duty and Observance to your Lordships, beseech you to believe that he would not do any thing willingly, to incur your displeasure.

Wherefore your Petitioner, in all humble

*Duty, and Obedience, both to His Majesty, and your Lordships, hath made his humble submission, and acknowledgment, in his most humble Petition unto the Kings most Sacred Majesty, and is ready to make his further submission to His Majesty, and this Honourable House, according to the direction thereof. And he doth most humbly implore your Lordships, that you will be pleased to restore him to your favour, and discharge him from his Imprisonment.*

And your Petitioner, &c.

S H A F T S B U R Y.

**T**HIS Petition being read, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the House, that His Majesty had received a Third Petition from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, more submissive than the two former. But His Majesty understanding that he had endeavoured to free himself from the censure of this House, by appealing to the *Kings-Bench*, to have there judgment thereupon during the late Adjournments: doth not think fit as yet, to signify his pleasure as to his discharge, until this House hath taken that matter into consideration.

Upon

Upon which the Lords refusing to make an Address to His Majesty, for his Lordships discharge, entered into a debate concerning his Appeal from their House to the *Kings-Bench*, for an *Habeas Corpus* : but not being able to come to any Resolution about it that day, the next day it was resumed again, and the Records of the *Kings-Bench* produced, by which it did appear, that two Rules of Court had been obtain'd upon the motion of his Lordships Council, and the returns thereupon were read ; by which it did appear, that the Earl had been committed the 16th. of *February*, 1676. for a Contempt committed against the *House of Lords*, and then the remittance of the Earl to the *Tower* was read. After this, a Petition from his Lordship to the House was read, wherein he took notice of an Order of the House, for bringing thither the Records of the *Kings-Bench* Court, concerning the matter of an *Habeas Corpus*, brought by him ; acquainting them, that he took himself to be very much concern'd, that they should enter into a debate of that Nature, in his absence, since he had an undoubted Right to be present, and plead for himself, when a debate of any new matter against him

was entred upon: and that although he could not pretend, but that there might be a probability of his having err'd, for want of a President to guide him, and being deprived of the benefit of Council, by reason of his close confinement, yet he resolved not to do any thing willingly, that might in the least offend His Majesty, or their Lordships; and therefore, humbly laid hold of that opportunity, to give further Evidence thereof, by casting himself at their Lordships feet, and as he humbly begg'd the Pardon of His Majesty, so he also implored the forgiveness of their Lordships, for offending them in any thing whatsoever.

The debate was somewhat long, but at last it came to this Issue.

They Resolved, and Declared, That it was a breach of the priviledge of that House, for any Lord, committed by them, to bring an *Habeas Corpus*, in any inferiour Court, to free himself from that Imprisonment, during the Session of Parliament; and that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, should have Liberty to make his full defence, notwithstanding the Resolution, and Declaration, as he aid.

Friday, February 22d. The Lords directed a Warrant to the Constable of the  
Tower,



*Tower*, to bring his Lordship to their Bar, on the *Monday* following ; The Earl of *Northampton* then Constable of the *Tower*, accordingly brought him, where, kneeling at the Bar, he received an account from the Lord Chancellor, of the Resolutions of the Lords, concerning his Appeal to the Court of *Kings-Bench*; whereupon his Lordship stood up, and made his reply, to this Effect :

MY LORDS,

**I** Have presum'd to present two *Petitions* to this Honourable House. The first your Lordships mention, I do again here personally renew, humbly desiring that I may be admitted to make that humble submission and acknowledgment, your Lordships will please to Order. And that after a *Twelvemonths* close Imprisonment, to a Man of my Age, and Infirmities, your Lordships will Pardon the folly, and unadvisedness of any of my Words, or Actions. And as to my Second *Petition*, I most humbly thank your Lordships, for acquainting me with your Resolution, and Declaration, in the Point ; and though Liberty be in it self very desirable, and as my Physician (a very Learned Man) thought absolutely necessary to the preservation of my Life ; yet, I  
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do profess to your Lordships, upon my Honour, that I would have perish'd, rather than have brought my Habeas Corpus, had I then apprehended, or been inform'd, that it had been a breach of the Priviledge of this Honourable House: it is my Duty, it is my Interest, to support your Priviledges, I shall never oppose them. My Lords, I do fully acquiesce in the Resolution, and Declaration, of this Honourable House: I go not about to justifie my self, but cast my self at your Lordships feet, acknowledge my Error, and humbly begg your Pardon, not only for having brought my Habeas Corpus, but for all other my Words, and Actions.

Then was one *Blany* called into the House, who had delivered a Paper to the Lord Treasurer, pretending to give an account of some words, spoken by his Lordship, in the Court of *Kings-Bench*, when he moved to be bailed there. But though this whole Transaction was no longer than since last *Hillary* Term, yet, *Blany* could not affirm that what was Written in the said Paper, was really spoken by his Lordship; so that the Treasurer not being able to make any thing of *Blanys* Story, (which was an hard Case, that so much pains should be taken to so little

little purpose) the *House of Lords* proceeded to a Resolution, in what form his Lordship should make his submission, and acknowledgment : which being drawn up, imported much the same, with which he had before Declared : which being read to him by the Lord Chancellor, his Lordship repeated the same at the Bar, and than withdrew.

Whereupon the House ordered, That the Lords with white ~~flaves~~<sup>robes</sup>, should wait upon His Majesty, and acquaint him the House had received satisfaction from his Lordship, in the matter of the *Habeas Corpus*, and the other Contempt, for which he stood committed, and were become humble Suiters to His Majesty, that he would be pleased to discharge him from his Imprisonment : and that their Lordships acquaint the House with His Majesties Answer. All which was done accordingly, and the Lord Treasurer reported to the House, That the Lords with white ~~flaves~~<sup>robes</sup>, had waited upon His Majesty, according to their Lordships Order. And that His Majesty was pleased to make this Answer, *That he would give Order for his Lordships discharge*, which was accordingly performed : and his Lordship, by regaining his Liberty,

Liberty, made more capable of serving His Majesty, and the *Protestant* Religion, against the dark and misterous designs, which were then carrying on against both.

But although the Lords proceeded with so much rigure and severity, against his Lordship, (who deserved to have been more kindly dealt withal by any, who pretend to any Loyalty to their Prince, since he made so considerable a Figure, and had so great a share in the contriving, and management of the happy Revolution, in 1666.) when they were in an unusual heat, artificialy kindled, and carefully blown into a Flame, by some unseen hand, who secretly manag'd the Bellows: yet, when that heat had spent it self; and the House acted with more freedom, and deliberation, they acknowledge the wrong and injury, done to his Lordship and the other Noblemen, who were committed upon that account: and to prevent that illegal preceeding from being made use of, as a President in future times, they damned the several proceedings thereon, by ordering the Commitment, and all things that concerned that Affair, to be expung'd, and raz'd out of their Jornal Books:

Books: that so, if possible, the very memory of them might be extinguished.

And thus this illustrious Peer, did at length regain his Liberty, although somewhat sooner, perhaps, than his Popish Enemies desired, or expected he should: but not without being severally burlesqued, by a second *Advice to the Men of Shaftsbury*, Written by the Author of the former; hoping by a frequent, and unwearied charging him with many fictitious Crimes, slyly insinuated, and audatiously affirmed, with all the confidence and formality, imaginable; they should at length, get them believed to be real ones. The whole Composition, both of this, and the former Advice, was made up of nothing in the World, but malice and revenge, carefully infused into the mercenary wretch, by the same aspiring Favourite, who had improved the Earls Application to the Court of *Kings-Bench*, into a Crime; and were inhibited by him, with all imaginable greediness, hoping thereby to relieve his wants, and supply his necessity; and as liberally cast out in those two scurilous Libels, to poyson, and infect the froth of the Town, and the scum of the Universities, and that they might be the  
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more successful, the Name of the Author is carefully conceal'd, not from any sparks of modesty, but that he might thereby with the more advantage, and security, exercise his Impudence, in defaming the Earl: wisely considering, That if his Name (which justly deserves to be Intom'd, and Rot in his own infamy) should have been prefixed to them, it would certainly have spoiled the Design, by making it appear too bare-fac'd. And indeed, it redounds very much to the Earls Honour, and Renown, that his Enemies could procure no other to Write against him, than one, whose Pen had been so long implyed against his Sovereign.

But notwithstanding all those devices, the Earls Honour, and Reputation, was above the reach of their malice, as well as his Loyalty had been above the reach of their poyson, and infection. Nor was he thereby discouraged from opposing the Designs of the Papishes, as vigorously as ever: but endeavoured notwithstanding, in the several Sessions of Parliament, to procure the passing such wholesome Laws, as might restrain Debauchery, and secure us against the growing Designs of *Rome*, and *France*; which tend-  
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ed to undermine the Protestant Religion, the interest of the *English* Nation, and prejudice, and endanger His Majesties Person, and Government. But more especially those two admirable Bills ; The first whereof provided, That no Papish should hold any Offices, or enjoy any places of profit, or trust, either *Civil*, or *Military*: upon which His Royal Highness laid down several great Offices and Places, which were held, and enjoyed by him. And the second, for the disabling any Papish from sitting as a Member in either House of Parliament, although this latter could not pass without a *Proviso*, that it should not extend to the Duke of *TORR*.

However, these Acts of Parliament did not prevent there proceeding in those monstrous Designs, which they had so long been forming in their secret Cabals : To Murther the King, subvert the Government, Massacre the Protestant Nobility, and Gentry, extirpate the Protestant Religion, and introduce Popery into this Kingdom. Having for that purpose, maintained Correspondence with a Neighbouring Prince, procured indulgences from *Rome*, to dispence with their taking the Oaths of *Supremacy*, and *Alliance*,

giance, together with all other *Tests*, when it should be necessary for the management of their Affairs; collected Money, appointed Officers, delivered out Commissions, procur'd a Bull from the Pope, for the Excommunicating of His most Sacred Majesty; held divers Consults at *Wild-House*, the *White Horse Tavern*, and several other places, to consider of the methods which they were to take in this Conspiracy, and appoint every one the part which he was to act in the Plot. Wherein those vile <sup>miscreants</sup> ~~Miscreants~~, and Traytors, with an Hellish Impudence, adventur'd to Declare the best of Kings to be Excommunicated, and Condemned as an *Heretick*, by the pretended power of the Pope, to lose both his Crown and Life: together with all the Protestant Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of *England*, who had rendered themselves any way obnoxious, by their endeavours to suppress Popery, especially His Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*. Nor were their Designs discovered, till they were just ready to be put in Execution; all things being in as much readiness, as they were in the *Gunpowder Treason* against King *James*.

But yet, the watchful Providence of  
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the Almighty, by whom (and not by that Grand Impostor at Rome) Kings Reign, and Princes Decree, Justice, it was seasonably discovered, to their amazement, and confusion, whereby they were driven to the very depths of despair; fearing that their Villany being so plainly discovered, and their Cruelty, and Treason exposed, and undeniably proved by *Coleman's* Letters, *Godfrey's* Murther, *Arnald's* Assassination, &c. they should never be able to clear themselves, and retrieve their Plot. However, they Resolved to attempt both the one, and the other, by charging his Lordship, and others, who had been the most Zealous Prosecuters of the Plot; not only of having invented this Plot, which they affirmed was altogether a fiction, but also with carrying on a Treasonable Design against the King's Majesty, under colour thereof.

The Plot being thus discovered, his Lordship being moved by a Principal of Loyalty, to His Majesties Love, to his Country, and Zeal to the Protestant Religion; endeavoured to the utmost of his power, to have it narrowly enquired into, and searched to the bottom, that so the mischevious Consequences of it might be the better provided against: and the

King's Person, and Government, the Protestant Religion, and the *English* Nation, might by an early Provision, be secured against the like attempts, for the future, as well as the present frustrated, which so much enraged them, that it added fuel to their malice, and sharpened their desire of accomplishing his ruine. Assuring themselves, as the Lords in the *Tower* told Mr. *Dangersfeld*, That if they were as well rid of him, as they were of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, they should then be able to conquer all difficulties, stifle the Popish Plot, and bear down all before them. Wherefore, finding him the greatest hinderance to their Designs, and the most active Man in prosecuting their Plot, they entered into a Resolution, to dispatch him into another World: as was affirmed by———Messenger, Gentleman of the Horse, to the Lord *Arun- del* of *Warder*, about three Weeks, or a Month, before Mr. *William Stayley* was apprehended: even so early did they begin their Designs of Murthering him, for endeavouring to expose their Plot. And not long after, *Stayley*, and *Mattisson*, being together at the *Cross-Keys Tavern*, in *Covent Garden*, Declared, That to prevent the severities which might be the event

event of this discovery, they must take a speedy course to destroy some particular persons, who were the most active Men at that juncture of time ; and that it was resolved on, to kill the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, as being the great encourager, and influencer of the rest : not long after which, *Matteson* pull'd a Pistol out of his Pocket, in Mr. *Prance's* Shop, affirming he would therewith do *Shaftsbury's* business, having provided the same for that purpose ; several others also assures Mr. *Prance*, that he would speedily be destroyed.

But after this, their rage was heighthned, and they supposed themselves obliged to a greater vigilancy, in accomplishing his ruine, upon the account of a Speech which was said to be spoken by him in the *House of Lords*, March, 25. 1679. upon occasion of the Houses Resolving it self into a grand Committee, to consider of the State of *England*, which was to the following Effect.

MY LORDS,

**Y**OU are now appointing the consideration of the State of England, to be taken up in a Committee of the whole House. some day the next Week. I do not know how well

what I have to say may be received, for I never study either to make my Court well, or to be popular ; I alwaies speak what I am commanded by the dictates of the Spirit within me. There are some other considerations that concern England so nearly, that without them you will come far short of Safety and Quiet at home. We have a little Sister and she hath no Breasts, what shall we do for our Sister in the day when she shall be spoken for ? If she be a Wall, we will build on her a Palace of Silver ; if she be a Door, we will inclose her with Boards of Cædar. We have several little Sisters without Breasts, the French Protestant Churches, the two Kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland ; the forraign Protestants are a Wall, the only Wall and Defence to England ; upon it you may build Palaces of Silver, glorious Palaces. The protection of the Protestants abroad, is the greatest power and security the Crown of England can attain to, and which can only help us to give check to the growing greatness of France. Scotland and Ireland are two Doors, either to let in good or mischief upon us ; they are much weakned by the Artifice of our cunning Enemies, and we ought to enclose them with Boards of Cædar.

Popery and Slavery, like two Sisters, go hand

hand in hand, sometimes the one goes first, sometimes the other, but wherever the one enters, the other is always following close at the Heels.

In England Popery was to have brought in Slavery ; in Scotland Slavery went before, and Popery was to follow. I do not think your Lordships, or the Parliament have Jurisdiction there. It is a Noble and Ancient Kingdom; they have an Illustrious Nobility, a Gallant Gentry, a Learned Clergy, and an understanding, worthy People; but yet we cannot think of England as we ought, without reflecting on the condition thereof. They are under the same Prince, and the influence of the same Favourites, and Councils : When they are hardly dealt with, can we that are Richer expect better usage ? For 'tis certain, that in all absolute Governments, the poorest Countries are most favourably dealt with. When the Ancient Nobility there cannot enjoy their Royalties, their Shrievaldoms, and their Stewardies, which they and their Ancestors have possessed for several hundred of years, but that now they are enjoy'd by the Lords of the Council to make Deputations of their Authorities to such as are their known Enemies, can we expect to enjoy our Magna Charta long, under the same persons and

*Administration of Affairs ? If the Council-Table there can imprison any Nobleman, or Gentleman, for several years, without bringing him to Tryal, or giving the least Reason for what they do : can we expect the same men will preserve the Liberty of the Subject here ?*

*My Lords, I will confess that I am not very well vers'd in the particular Laws of Scotland ; but this I do know, that all the Northern Countries have by their Laws an undoubted and inviolable Right to their Liberties, and Properties ; yet Scotland hath out-done all the Eastern and Southern Countries, in having their Lives, Liberties, and Estates subjected to the Arbitrary Will and Pleasure of those that govern. They have lately plundered and harassed the richest and wealthiest Countries of that Kingdom, and brought down the barbarous Highlanders to devour them ; and all this almost without a colourable pretence to do it : Nor can there be found a Reason of State for what they have done ; but that those wicked Ministers designed to procure a Rebellion at any Rate ; which as they managed it, was only prevented by the miraculous hand of God, or otherwise all the Papists in England would have been armed, and the fairest opportunity given, in the nick  
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of time for the execution of that wicked and bloody Design the Papists had : and it is not possible for any man that duly considers it, to think other, but that those Ministers that acted that, were as guilty of the Plot as any of the Lords that are in Question for it.

My Lords, I am forced to speak this the plainer, because till the pressure be fully and clearly taken off from Scotland, 'tis not possible for me, or any thinking man to believe that good is meant us here. We must still be upon our guard apprehending that the Principle is not changed at Court, and that those men that are still in place and Authority, have that influence upon the mind of Our Excellent Prince, that he is not, nor cannot be that to us, that his own Nature and Goodness would incline him to. I know your Lordships can order nothing in this ; but there are those that hear me which can put a perfect cure to it ; until that be done, the Scottish Weed is like Death in the pot, Mors in Olla. But there is something too, now I consider, that most immediately concerns us, their Act of Twenty two Thousand Men to be ready to invade us upon all occasions. This I hear, that the Lords of the Council there have treated as they do all other Laws, and expounded it into a stand-

*ing Army of Six Thousand Men. I am sure we have Reason and Right to beseech the King, that that Act may be better considered in the next Parliament there. I shall say no more for Scotland at this time, I am afraid your Lordships will think I have said too much, having no concern there : but if a French Nobleman should come to dwell in my House and Family, I should think it concerned me to ask what he did in France ; for if we were there a Felon, a Rogue, a Plunderer, I should desire him to live elsewhere ; and I hope your Lordships will do the same thing for the Nation, if you find Cause.*

*My Lords, Give me leave to speak two or three words concerning our other Sister, Ireland : Thither I hear is sent Douglas's Regiment , to secure us against the French. Besides, I am credibly informed that the Papists have their Arms restor'd, and the Protestants are not many of them yet recovered from being the suspected Party. The Sea-Towns as well as the In-land, are full of Papists : That Kingdom cannot long continue in the English hands, if some better care be not taken of it. This is in your Power, and there is nothing there but is under your Laws. Therefore I beg, that this Kingdom at least, may be taken into consideration,*



deration, together with the State of England; for I am sure there can be no safety here, if these Doors are not shut up and made sure.

But His Majesty had another kind of esteem for his Lordship, for not long after the making of this Speech, having Dissolv'd His Privy Council, and chosen a new one, he was pleas'd to constitute the Earl President thereof; a Place so considerable for Honour and Trust, that it hath not been enjoyed by any Subject for many years, and was improv'd by him as much to the advantage of His Majesty and the Protestant Interest, as possible.

And when the Bill for excluding the Duke of York, had pass'd the *House of Commons*, as the only expedient they could find out to suppress the Designs of the Papists, and prevent their ever introducing the Popish Religion into *England*; they sent it up to the *House of Lords*, where his Lordship was one of those Honourable Lords, who Voted for its passing that House, in order to its being offer'd to His Majesty, for His Royal Assent.

The Grand Jury returned for the Hundred

dred of *Osalfstone*, in the County of *Middlesex*, in *June* the *2d.* 1680. finding the Constables defective in not presenting the Papists as they ought: it was ordered they should make further presentments by the *16th.* of that Instant, upon which day they met again to receive them, when likewise a Bill against *D. T.* for not coming to Church, was brought before them, together with the following Reasons for his being indicted, subscribed by the persons undernam'd.

*First*, Because the *25th. Car. 2d.* when an Act was made to throw Popish Recusants out of all Offices, and Places of Trust: the Duke did then lay down several great Offices and Places, (as *Lord High Admiral of England*, *Generalissimo of all His Majesties Forces*, both by Land and Sea, *Governour of the Cinque Ports*, and divers others,) thereby to avoid the punishment of that Law against Papists.

*Secondly*, *30. Car. 2d.* when an Act was made to disable Papists to sit in either *House of Parliament*, there was a *Proviso* incerted in that Act, That it should not extend to *D. T.* on purpose to save his right of sitting in the *Lords House*, though he refused to take those Oaths

Oaths which the Protestant Peers ought to do.

*Thirdly*, That His Majesty in His Speech, *March 6th.* the 31<sup>st</sup>. year of his Reign, doth give for a Reason to the Parliament, why he sent His Brother out of *England*, (*Viz.*) Because he would leave no Man Room to say that he had not remov'd all Causes which might influence him to Popish Councils.

*Fourthly*, That there hath been divers Letters read in both *Houses of Parliament*, and at the secret Committee of both Houses, from several Cardinals and others, at *Rome*, and also from other Popish Bishops and Agents of the Pope, in other Forreign Parts: which do apparently shew the great Correspondencies between him and the Pope, and how the Pope could not choose but weep for joy, at the reading of some of his Letters, and what great satisfaction it was to the Pope, to hear that he was advanced to the Catholick Religion; as likewise that the Pope hath granted him *Briefs*, sent him *Beads*, and ample *Indulgencies*; with much more to this purpose.

*Fifthly*, The whole *House of Commons* hath Declared him to be a Papist in their Votes, *Sunday, April, 6th. 1679.*  
where-

wherein they resolv'd *nemine contradicente*, that the Duke of *Tork's* being a Papist, and his hopes of coming such to the Crown, had given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the present Conspiracy, and Designs of the Papists, against the King and the Protestant Religion.

*Sixthly*, That besides all this Proof, and much more to this purpose, it is most notorious and evident, he hath for many years absented from Protestant Churches, during Religious Worship.

These are the Reasons why we believe him to be a Papist; this was subscribed, and delivered by his Lordship, together with the Earl of *Huntington*, and the Lords, *Grey of Wark*, *Russel*, *Cavendish*, *Brandon*, and *Wharton*: as also by Sir *William Cowper*, Barronet, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Barronet, Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Knight of the Bath, Sir *Scraop How*, *Thomas Thinn*, Esq; *William Forrester*, Esq; and *John Trenchard*, Esq;

But whilst the Jury were in debate of the Matter, they were sent for up by the Court of *Kings-Bench*, and dismissed, so that nothing was done upon it more than the Juries having receieved the presentment. Wherefore, on *Wednesday, July*, the Thirtieth,

tieth, the former Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, with the addition of the Lord *Clare*, Sir *John Cope*, Barronet, Sir *Roland Gwynne*, and Mr. *Wandsford*, presented the same to a second *Grand Jury*, who were discharged as the former.

But whilst his Lordship was thus vigorously prosecuting the Popish Plot, in the face of danger, the Papists were as vigilant in contriving his ruine, though with somewhat more secrecy and silence, resolving to seize the Prey before they gave the least Alarm or Notice of their intention, as appear'd by their close Caballistical Designs, carryed on against this Earl, and all the rest of the Protestant Nobility, and Gentry in *England*, wherein Mr. *Dangerfield* was a considerable Agent, having been for that purpose fetcht out of *Newgate*, by the Papists; who hoping to reap a vast advantage by having him to manage their Affairs, willingly disburst a large sum to discharge his Debts. The first sanguinary work they employed him in was, to attempt the Murther of his Lordship, promising him 500 pounds for so acceptable a service (as they apprehended it to be) he inquired the Reason why they thirsted after his Life, and how there might be any impro-

probable way proposed, whereby it might be accomplished ? to which it was answered, That as to the first, they should be glad to have him out of the way, because, if they were rid of him, as they were of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, it would be no difficult thing to bear down all the rest of their Opposers. As to the second, They affirmed it to be as easie as desirable, since, said the Lord P——s, my Man *Wood* was at *Thannet* House, two nights since, upon pretence of an Errand, but his business was to view the House, and observe what conveniences there were to make his escape after the fact was done : assuring him that *Wood* found the thing so feasible, that after he came back, he declar'd himself sorry that he was not provided to have done it then. And to encourage him to undertake this sanguinary enterprize with the more chearfulness, he gave him Ten Guineys in hand, as an assurance that the full reward should be paid so soon as the fatal stroak should be given. Promising moreover, that Mr. *Regaut*, a *Virginia* Merchant, of Mrs. *Celliers* acquaintance, should come to him on *Sunday* following, to instruct him in the most dexterous and probable means of putting the Design

Design in execution, and secure the payment of the 500 l.

All things being thus agreed on, the Lord P——s, took him by the hand, and wished him good success; And to render him the more pliable and active in this designed Tragady, he was sent first to the Lord *Castlemain*, then to *Sharp* the Priest, and last of all to *Jack Gadbury* the *Fortune-Teller*: by all whom he was severely scoulded, for not complying with the Popish Lords in their command to kill the King, insolently upbraiding him with horrid ingratitude, in refusing to perform that for which he was taken out of Prison and maintained in so much splendour, ever since. Hoping that this chiding might raise in him a magnanimous Resolution to regain the Credit he had lost by that refusal, by a Resolute perpetrating the Murther of his Lordship.

*Dangerfield* being thus prepared, on the Sunday following *Regaut* came to Mrs. *Celliers*, and having first dined together, he gave him general directions how to accomplish the Murder, demanding how he would order the Mony to be paid, when he had performed the enterprise; telling him, that if he pleased, it should be

be brought in Guinneys, and left with Mrs. *Cellier*, for him; but he disliking the way, desired, That when *Regaut* heard that the Lord *Shaftsbury* was Dead, and should receive a Note from him, that then he would immediately pay the Mony for his use, which he promised should be done accordingly. But ordered him to attend on *Sharp*, and some others, for more particular instructions, how to Act this Tragedy; He attended upon them several times, before they could resolve what method he should take. However, to prevent his flaging, he was commanded by the Conspirators to repair to *Knowles* the Priest, to confess, and receive the Sacrament, which he did at *Knowles's* Lodging, at a *Coffe-House* in *White-fryars*, from whom he received some directions, how to proceed in the Murther: but *Dangerfield* telling him that they were silly and impractable, *Knowles* sent him to the Lady *Abergaveny*, telling him that she was a Witty Lady, and had some Correspondence with the Lord *Shaftsbury*, and therefore was the more capable of advising him. Wherefore he presently repaired to her Lodgings at the House of Mr. *Griffin*, in great *Lincolns-Inn Fields*, where



where he found easie admittance into her Ladyships Chamber, upon sending in word that he came from *Anoles*. So soon as he entered, he acquainted her who he was, and the business he waited upon her Ladyship about. *Sir*, said she, I have received a very good Character of you, and therefore think my self obliged to return you thanks for the extraordinary diligence wherewith you have managed our business hitherto, and I hope you will proceed with the like care until you have finished what you have so well begun. As for the taking the Earl of *Shaftsbury* out of the way, it's a thing of no difficulty, it being altogether as easie to kill him, as to kill a Bird on a Tree. Pray Madam, which way shall I do it, with so much ~~facility~~ and ease, said *Dangerfield*? why several waies, replied the Lady, it may be done; but I would have you pretend to Cure the *Gout*, and my Lord being troubled with that Distemper, I will recommend you to him under that pretence, whereby you will easily gain admittance, which having obtained, you must watch your opportunity to dispatch him.

From thence *Dangerfield* went to *Puoc*'s House, and acquainted the

Countess where he had been, and the several waies which had been proposed by *Knowles* and others, for the Murthering the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, but more especially the Ladys Project, as being the more likely way to succeed. To which the Countess replied, It was but a silly contrivance, yet, peradventure it might do. However, she gave him no order to proceed thereon as yet. But resolving, if possible, to make sure work, they obliged him to charge his Lordship with Treason, by making him one of the Protestant Peers, whom they intended to charge with a Conspiracy against the Kings Crown, and Life; that so if they failed of Murthering him with their hands, they might however destroy him with their breath. To which purpose, his name was inrolled in that List which was found in the *Meal-Tub*, and gave the first light into their Plot, which was more fully discovered by *Dangerfield's* miscarrying in the chief part of their Conspiracy; (*Viz.*) placing the Treasonable Papers in Colonel *Manse's* Chamber, whereby all was spoiled for that time. And *Dangerfield* being to wait on His Majesty, to give him an account of this pretended Plot, the Countess

rels of *P* gave him directions to lay all the Burthen he could upon the *Presbyterians* in general, but more especially upon His Grace the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Grey*, of *Wark*, Lord *Howard* of *Esrick*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and some others. And that he should explain to His Majesty, the meaning of the Contents of the several Papers he had presented to the Duke (who was the person that introduced him to His Majesty, to make this pretended discovery) and how the *Presbyterians* were resolved to use their utmost endeavours, for the reducing the present Government, and setting up a Common-wealth once more, and settling His Grace the Duke of *Monmouth* therein (a likely business) and that the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and other persons of Honour, were issuing out Commissions for that purpose, and had promised some to several persons.

And having hereby secured this Design indifferently well, as they thought, and being now come to a Resolution in what method *Dangerfield* should attempt his Lordships Life, they commanded him to repair to *Sharp*, and confess and receive, (it being their common custom to make them receive the Sacrament, and

Introduction to the horrid Villanies) and the crafty Priest having first palliated the Murther, by urging the necessity of it, and the extraordinary advantage that would thereby redound to their Cause and Party, and so covered the Crime with a Mantle of Religion, that he made it appear meritorious. He then proceeded with abundance of Formality, and Jesuitical Zeal, to Conjure him by all that was good or sacred, that he should with all possible speed stab his Lordship, so soon as he should receive order from the Popish Lords so to do. He promised he would, and so the impudent Ecclesiastical Villian dismissed him with abundance of costly benedictions and hearty wishes for the happy success of his enterprizes. And a Letter coming for the Lords in the *Tower*, which commanded him to go that very night, and put their Resolution of stabbing his Lordship in Execution, he received instructions not to enter into any discourse with him, when he had him alone, but after a little Apology for his coming to his Lordship without being sent, or introduced by any other person, and desiring to know whither, if it should fall out to be in his power to serve him, he should obtain so much fa-

your

your of his Lordship, as to find his service acceptable to his work ; and then receiving a short *French* Dagger (as he judges it to be) provided for that purpose, by the *Virginia* Merchant, he went immediately to *Thannet* House, in *Aldersgate-street*, where his Lordship lived, and found admittance with more ease and freedom, than he expected ; the Earls Innocency rendring him altogether without suspicion ; But *Dangerfield* finding divers persons in the Room where his Lordship was, and fearing least some of them might know him, and thereby he be discovered, he pretended his business required privacy, and humbly desired to speak with his Lordship alone, whereupon he sent him with one of his Gentleman up stairs, and soon after his Lordship coming himself to know what business he had with him, *Dangerfield* repeated over the story wherein he had been instructed, but his Lordship not knowing what to make of it, entered into some other discourse with him ; but *Dangerfield* perceiving some persons to be at the other end of the Room, was struck with a suddain horror and fear of mind, and the dread of being discovered was so terrible to him, that he was in

tormented to be gone, and presently taking his leave return'd, and acquainted those who had employed him, that he had been with his Lordship, and there being too many persons in the Room, he thought it not safe to make an attempt upon him at that time; but withal to save his Credit, assured them the thing was easie to be done, and promised to do it the next time he went. The next morning early, his Boy went to the *Tower* with a Letter, wherein he gave an Account to the Lords, that he had entered himself at the Earl of *Shaftsbury's*, and promised without fail, to dispatch him within a few days. The Countess her self wrote an Answer to that Letter, and ordered *Dangerfield* to go to the King, and acquaint His Majesty that he had been at his Lordships to make some further discovery of the New Plot, and that he should tell His Majesty *Verbatim*, what he had said to his Lordship, and that he had promised to get him an employ, and to take care of him. The next morning he went to the King, and repeated his Lesson accordingly.

About two or three days after, he was ordered by the Conspirators to repair to his Lordship again, and frame a discourse

course to him, to this or the like Effect :  
 (Viz.) My Lord, I am now come with  
 something that very nearly concerns  
 both your Lordships Honour and Person ;  
 for if your Lordship should be sent for  
 before the King and Council, and there  
 have several Accusations of High-Trea-  
 son brought in against you, and you  
 should thereupon be committed to the  
*Tower*, and that the Evidence, to main-  
 tain those Accusations, should prove Let-  
 ters written by your Lordships own  
 hand, then I hope you will believe I  
 am your faithful Servant. Having re-  
 ceived these Instructions, and the Dag-  
 ger, he went in the dusk of the Even-  
 ing, a second time to *Thanner House*,  
 where sending for Mr. *Shepherd*, one of  
 his Lordships Gentlemen, to the Door,  
 he acquainted him with his desire of  
 speaking privately with his Lord. Mr.  
*Shepherd* having first acquainted his  
 Lordship therewith, took him into a  
 Room, which *Dangerfield* supposed to  
 be his Lordships Closet, desiring him to  
 stay there, and telling him the Earl  
 would come to him presently.

But as soon as the Gentleman was re-  
 tired, *Dangerfield* began to look about the  
 Room, and found another Door, besides

that at which he came in ; and perceiv-  
 ing it lead into the same Room where  
 he had been with his Lordship before, he  
 concluded, that if the Earl came into the  
 Closet, he would immediately have stab'd  
 him, having the advantage of two Doors  
 to escape by, intending to do as the fa-  
 tal stroke had been given, to put out the  
 Candle, and under the colour of lighting  
 it, make his escape. But Divine Provi-  
 dence so ordered it, that his Lordship  
 came not at all into the Room, but after  
 two hours waiting (which he employed  
 in searching many Letters, and other Pa-  
 pers, which he found in a Table-Draw-  
 er, putting some of them into his Pock-  
 et, which when they came to be perus'd,  
 prov'd to be Letters from Sir *Richard*  
*Bulstrode*, His Majesties Agent at *Bras-  
 sels*, the Contents whereof imported no  
 more than the then present posture of Af-  
 fairs in that Country) sent for him into  
 the next, which disappointment so con-  
 founded him, that he had no power to  
 proceed in his bloody determinations :  
 but having repeated his Lesson to his  
 Lordship, left him to meditate upon the  
 confused and groundless story, and re-  
 turn'd with a feigned chearfulness, which  
 made those that had sent him flush with  
 hopes



hopes that he had succeeded in his enterprize; but when they understood the contrary they were extreamly concern'd, having assured themselves of the like success that they had found in the Assassination of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*. And Mr. *Wood* was sent from his Lord to tell him, that of all people, he admired to find him so great a Coward: and that however it was his Lordships pleasure to try him once more, ordering him in the mean time to make the most of those Letters, by repairing to *White-hall*, and acquainting the King with the Discourse he had with his Lordship, and shew the Letters of Sir *Richard Bulstrode*, to His Majesty, that thereby he might obtain the greater Credit; and lest the Earl should have suspected the Intreague, by missing of his Letters, and be with the King before him, he was commanded to make no manner of delay, but repair immediately to His Majesty; For, said he, if the Earl should be there before you, it may be more prejudicial to you, than perhaps you imagine. He was moreover to tell the King, that a great number of very dangerous Papers relating to the *Presbyterians* design, were in the Lodging of Collonel *Mansel*, and  
desired

desired a Warrant to seize on them.

Upon this *Dangersfeld* went immediately to Mr. *Cheffinch*, who had introduced him to His Majesty once before, and was by him placed in a Room which the King was to pass through; and His Majesty seeing him there, asked him what he had to say to him? he answered, according to the instructions he had received, and humbly prayed a Warrant to search the Collonel's Lodgings; His Majesty bid him repair to Mr. *Secretary Coventry*, and acquaint him with the business, who would thereupon grant him a Warrant. Upon this away went *Dangersfeld* to the *Secretary*, and having first acquainted him with the Story, told him it was His Majesties pleasure he should wait on him for a Warrant: Notwithstanding which the *Secretary* absolutely refused to grant him one, unless he would first make *Affidavit*, that there were such Papers in the Collonel's Chamber, and what the Contents of them were. But the Gentleman could do neither: The first he could not Swear, because the Papers were not then there, but were to have been conveyed thither after the Warrant was obtained; And the second he was afraid to Swear, lest the *Secretary*, who was  
a very

a very wise and judicious person, should presently apprehend the Truth, that they were framed and conveyed thither by himself, since it would have been impossible otherwise to have known the Contents of Letters in a Gentlemans Chamber, with whom he had never exchanged two words in his Life; wherefore refusing to make *Affidavit*, he was forced to go away without a Warrant. Whereupon he repaired to the Lord *Peter*—telling him what had happened, and that he had been twice at the Earl of *Shaftsbury*s. His Lordship seemed to be well pleased therewith, and promised, that when any Forces were raised, he would put in for a Regiment of Horse, and would give him a Troop in the same, but withal, bid him be sure to do the Earls business the third time. However the Countess of *Powis* and Mrs. *Cel-lier*, were extreemly angry with him for refusing to make such *Affidavit* as the *Secretary* required, for the obtaining a Warrant: telling him he might safely have sworn, since he had formerly seen, and been at the Writing of some of them, & that at the worst, it could not be *Perjury*, because the Oath was not made in a Court of Record, perswading him to make amens  
for

for that oversight, by repairing again to *Thannet House*, and there, without any hisitation or fear, stab the Earl of *Shafts-bury*. He desired to be excused in that Affair, assuring her that his two former disappointments had so discouraged him, that he could not possibly perswade himself ever to make any further attempts in that kind. At which her Ladyship seeming very much concerned, obraided him with Cowardice, and said she would go her self.—No Madam, replied Mrs. *Cellier*, that shall not be, for I will go and do the business so effectually, that there shall be no occasion for a second attempt, whereby I will convince the World, that some of our Sex are braver, and more couragious and daring, than the Men.

Then the Countess asked him if he had learned where Mr. *Mansel's* Lodgings were? yes, said he, with a great deal of trouble, I have; he Lodgeth at *Westminster*. Why then you timerous person, said she, pray take these Papers and convey them privately into some part of his Chamber, Closet, or Trunks. He told her it was impossible to do that, in regard he had no manner of knowledg of him. You must, said her Ladiship, find out some way or other to get acquainted

quainted with him, and then you must invite him to the Tavern, and Drink smartly, whereby you may doubtless have an opportunity to Lodge the Papers in some part of his Cloaths, and so soon as you have done that, you must immediately upon pretence that he has spoke Treason, call for a Constable, and get him apprehended, and searched, and the Papers carryed to the King and Council, and so get him committed. *This was to have been the Introduction to their Conspiracy for destroying not only this Illustrious Lord, whose vertue, and firm, and stedy cleaving to the Interest of His Majesty, and the Protestant Religion, had rendered him the greatest Object of their hatred and malice, but likewise of all the chief English Protestant Nobility and Gentry, who had any way discovered their Aversion to Popery, by endeavouring to have their Hellish Designs against the Sacred Life of His Majesty, and the Protestant Religion, throughly searched into and prosecuted.*

For upon this he was to have moved the King and Council, to have impowered him to search the Lodgings and Houses of several other Gentlemen (whither they were to have conveyed the like Treasonable Papers.) Then she delivered

vered him fifteen Letters, and a List of Names, but one of the Letters, and the List of Names, being Written by her own hand, she desired him to get them Transcribed : which he offering to do himself, was told by her, that it must not be done by him, because they were to be brought before the King and Council, and the King having received from him some Remarks, Written with his own hand already, would thereby discover the whole to be forged. Wherefore having got a *Scrivener* over-against *Sommerfet House*, to Transcribe them, he went to *Ax-yard* in *Kings-street, Westminster*, where inquiring for Lodgings, he was directed to Mr. *Harris's*, which was the very House where the Colonel Lodged : and there, under the feigned Name of *Thomas*, desired to know what Chambers they had to dispose of, and being shewed all the Rooms in the House, none would please him, but the two Rooms up one pair of Stairs ; but was told that Colonel *Mansel* Lodged in them, and therefore they could not be disposed of without his consent, which could not then be obtained in regard he was not at home, so that he could not effect any thing at that time.

Wherefore the Female *Hero* resolving  
to

to approve her self the Champion of the Popish Cause, went with a feigned Complement to his Lordship, hoping before her return, to give him a Wound somewhat more fatal than that which she had formerly given to some others of our Sex. But his Lordship according to his usual custom when he Treated with Strangers, kept a strict Eye upon her during the whole time they were discouraging together, and perceiving her to be busily fumbling about her Pockets, he gently laid his hand upon hers, and pleasantly drol'd with her concerning the business she pretended to visit him about, whereat being very much troubled and discouraged, she presently took leave of his Lordship. But being advanced almost as far as the Door, and reflecting upon the disgrace she should bring upon her self, by having promised never to return but with the happy News of Victory, and yet accomplishing as little, or less than *Dangersfield*, whose Cowardice she had exclaimed against with so much scorn and contempt, she suddenly returned towards his Lordship, resolving not to stir from the spot, until she had laid him at her Foot. But the Earl seeing her come back, steps to her, and as if guided by the directi-

direction of some superior influence, laid his hand upon hers as before, which so dashed her out of countenance, that she was forced to depart without success. Heaven having Decreed that this illustrious Peer, who had been so useful to the King and Kingdom, should not loose his Life so tamely, and fall a Sacrifice to papal Rage; Nor that the *English Annals* should ever report to succeeding Ages, that the great *Shaftsbury* was slain by the feeble hand of an Impious Strumpet.

This disappointment heightened their Rage, and made them resolve to hasten the finishing of their Plot, not doubting but to involve him in the common ruine of the rest of the Protestant Nobility. Wherefore *Dangerfield* went presently and took the two Rooms where *Mansel* Lodged, he having consented to remove one pair of Stairs higher, that so he might not hinder the House of so beneficial a Lodger as he seemed to be. And being conducted into the Room where the Colonel was to Lodge, whilst his own was put in order, and fitted for him, he laid hold of that opportunity to place those Treasonable Papers behind the Colonel's Beds-head, and then acquainted the Conspirators with what he had done, who ordered him to



go again to the King, and desire a Warrant to search. Accordingly he went to Mr. *Cheffinch*, and was by him brought to His Majesty, whom he earnestly sollicit-ed for a Warrant: but His Majesty according to His accustomed wisdom, sent him again to *Secretary Coventry*, who being no less suspicious of him now, than he was before, no Warrant was to be obtained from him; wherefore the Conspirators being informed, they resolved, That having proceeded so far, they would not be baffled by one difficulty, wherefore they commanded him to repair to some of the *Custom-House Officers*, and pretending to inform them where a considerable quantity of prohibited goods that had been Imported were, concealed to procure a Warrant to search, which was easily granted, and two Officers sent to search the House: he first carried them to his own Room, for the better colouring the business, and having searched there and found nothing, he conducted them into the Colonel's Chamber, who was at that time abroad; where they did, upon his assurance that the goods were in that Room, make a thorough search, breaking open his Trunks and Boxes, and with the exactest scrutiny imaginable,

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examined the very Bed-Clothes, but no prohibited goods being to be found, they were about to depart, when *Dangerfield* intimating that probably they might be hid behind the Bed, they presently removed it about three foot from the Wall, but could find nothing; whereupon *Dangerfield* stepping forward looked in, and seeing the bundle of Papers lying where he had placed them, presently cried, *What's that lies there?* whereupon one of the Officers taking it down and opening it, he presently snatched one of the Papers (which was the List of Names, some Written at length, and others only the two first Letters) and cried, *Here's Treason!* The Searcher opening another, and beginning to read therein, *Dangerfield* cried out again, *There's Treason likewise in that Paper against His Majesty, wherefore the Papers ought to be all seized, and the person who owns them, if he were present, to be secured:* perswading them to carry the Papers to some Secretary of State. However, they knowing better what belonged to their own Office, than that of a Justice of the Peace, refused so to do, but carryed them to their own Masters at the *Custom-House*, whereof he informed the Conspirators; who fearing, least by  
that

that means their Design might be spoiled; and their hopes frustrated, ordered him to go forthwith and tell the King the manner how he had caused the Papers to be seized, which he did, and His Majesty sent him to call Mr. *Secretary Coventry*, to give some order about it: which done he returned, and acquainted Mrs. *Cellier* and the Countess, what he had done, and that he had the Honour to be in a Room alone with His Majesty. Oh! what an opportunity have you lost, saies one, and how bravely might he have killed the King, saies the other, if he had been provided. And yet these vile Miscreants, who could lament *Dangerfields* not perpetrating so horrid a Crime, have the impudence to call themselves Loyalists, and are, notwithstanding their disloyal Principles and Practices, believed to be so, by some persons in the World, whose pretences to Loyalty and the Protestant Religion, made people except other things from them.

Mrs. *Harris* being surpris'd at the finding Treasonable Papers in her House, presently went in search of the Colonel, and having found him, acquainted him with what had happened, perswading him to take Lodgings in the City, and

promised to send his things to him, if he would do so : but he rejected her advice as pernicious, and proceeding only from a Feminine simplicity, and timorousness, since his so doing would have been censured as a flight, and that would have argued Guilt, and his personal Guilt would have involved hundreds of other innocent persons in the same Condemnation. Wherefore being assured of his own Loyalty and Innocence, he went to the *Custom-House*, to know by what Authority his Box was seized, and what was become of those Papers which were pertended to be found in his Chamber, and was answered, That they were all returned to his Lodging again ; whereupon getting together the Officers of the *Custom-House*, the Master and Mistress of the House, and what other persons were present at the seizure, Justice *Warcup* took their Depositions, and found upon the whole matter, that it was a malicious Design to involve a great number of Innocent persons in the Guilt of Treason and Rebellion against His Majesty ; whereupon he made out a Warrant for apprehending him, which being delivered to a Constable, they went along with him to Mrs. *Celliers*, where he then, and the *St. Omers*

*Novices*

*Novices* formerly had Lodged, there the Constable and Warrant found him. When he understood their business, he exclaimed against *Mansel*, crying out, *It was his doing*, thinking thereby to shuffle off his own Guilt ; but it should not do, for he had been that day with the King himself, and with Mr. *Secretary Coventry*, and had acquainted them with the business ; And before he gets home, saies he, *there will be inquiry made for him at his Lodging*. Well, saies the Justice, your Hectoring will not serve your turn, if you will give security to appear at the *Council-Board*, by Nine of the Clock to Morrow Morning, we will give you no more trouble at this time, but if not, you must go to Prison. Whereupon *Cellier* and her *Son-in-Law*, entered into Recognizance for his appearance at the Council the next day, which he did accordingly ; but as ill luck would have it, he unfortunately met with a most unhappy and mischevious accident : for as he was going down the Council Stairs, he met with Mr. *Do'iley* an Officer, belonging to the *Mint*, who knew him, and had formerly prosecuted him for uttering false Guineys ; whereupon being conscious of his Guilt, and fearing that the Gentleman would undoubtedly have

discovered it to the King and Council, and thereby have ruined his Credit, and spoil the hopeful Design he was carrying on. He began without any kind of provocation, to Curse and Damn him, demanding what he had to say to him ? and swearing, That if he had him out of the Court, he would cut his Crown, and threatned, that when he met him in a convenient place, he would revenge the injury. Whereat *Dō'iley* being very much surprized, and seeing *Sir Francis North, Lord Chief Justice* of the *Common Pleas*, just going to the Council, he being one of the Members thereof (and as providence ordered came so opportunely, as to hear the words that passed between them :) he steps to him, and acquaints him with *Dangerfield's* Character, and complained of the abuse he had then received from him ; as soon as his Lordship came into the Council Chamber, he acquainted His Majesty and the Council therewith, who thereupon sent Justice *Walcup*, and ordered him to take *Dō'ley's* depositions concerning *Dangerfield* ; ordering moreover a Messenger to take him into Custody, which was presently done, and he was carryed to the *King's Head Tavern*, whither the Justice came to examin him as soon

soon as the the Council was risen. But in the mean while he Writ a Note to Mrs. *Cellier*, and ordered her to acquaint the Lord and Lady *Powis*, that he was apprehended, for they knew that the Messenger would not suffer the Note to be sent, until he had first read the Contents of it; which having done, the Boy carryed it according to directions.

The next day Colonel *Mansel* and he, being both called into the Council Chamber, the Lord Chancellor demanded of the Colonel, what Correspondencies these were which he held? Here are Papers, saies he, of dangerous Consequence, importing no less than the levying Men, and raising Rebellion against the King; here is also a Catalogue of Names whom you have listed. The Colonel affirmed he knew nothing either of the Letter or List of Names, nor never did, or ever would hold any Treasonable Correspondence with any Man living; And humbly prayed the favour of the Court, that he might be permitted, how he came by a sight of those Papers, assuring them that he did not question but to make it appear, that those Papers were brought into his Chamber by *Dangersfield*; and upon leave given by the Board, he gave

them a full and clear account of the whole Matter, whereupon he was ordered to call in his Witnesses, which he did. And Mr. *Harris* made Oath, That the Papers then before the Council, were the same which were left at his House by Mr. *Sretch*, and Mr. *Bostock*: who made Oath, That being inform'd by *Dangersfield* of certain prohibited goods concealed in *Ax-yard*, they appointed to meet him at Mrs. *Celliers*, in order to go with him to seize them, but when they came there he was not then ready, having not yet lain at his New Lodgings; but told them, that he intended to go to them that very night, and therefore appointed them to come the *Wednesday* following in the Morning, and that when they came there, they found *Dangersfield* in his Chamber, and one *Bedford* with him; and that *Dangersfield* took them aside, lest *Bedford* should hear, and whispered to them, that the goods were in the Room above Stairs, and desired them to charge him to assist 'em, which they did (and that after a narrow search) finding no such goods as they were informed of, he pointed towards the Bed, whereupon they pulled it away from the Wall, and searched very narrowly, but could disco-



ver no goods, nor did the Papers appear to them; whereupon he pointed to the Beds-head, and then Mr. *Stretch* went behind the Bed with a Candle, but could see nothing. And that then *Dangerfield* went himself behind the Bed, and calling to them, cryed, *What's that hangs there?* pointing to a bundle of Papers, that were pinned to the Beds-head; which they had no sooner taken down, but he snatched one of them out of the Officers hand, and cryed out, *Here's Treason!* There was in that Paper, words to this Effect. *I wonder at your delay, and that the four Lords have left us! for now the Tyrant has declared himself a Papish; (which agreed very well with what they afterwards endeavoured to charge upon his Lordship, and the rest of the Protestant Nobility:)* upon the reading of which words, he cryed out, *Did not I tell you these were Treasonable Papers? they ought to be secured, and the person whose Chamber this is, if he were present.* They swore likewise, that the Papers which the Council had then before them, were the same which they took down from behind the Beds-head, and that they did verily believe them to be placed there by *Dangerfield*.

The

The Council proceeding no further in the examination of the Plot that day, the Justice took Bail for *Dangerfield*, till the next day; And then the Colonel Petitioning that the rest of his Witnesses might be heard, His Majesty Adjourn'd the Examination thereof till the next Council day, in regard of some other business which the Council had then before them, whereupon *Dangerfield* moved, that till then he might be Bailed, but His Majesty refused to grant it, and ordered in Council, that he should be taken into Custody by the Messenger: who acquainting *Dangerfield* therewith, he stormed, and said, He was confident there was no such order, for he knew there were those persons that would not suffer him to be so Treated: but the Messenger insisting upon his order, demanded his Sword, which he very unwillingly delivered, and so was conducted to the Messengers House. He had the impudence to move the Board, that the Colonel might be committed likewise, but my Lord Chancellor opposed the motion, and so it fell.

On the *Monday* following, they being both called into Council, and *Dangerfield* having by that time received instructions

ons from the Conspirators, how to proceed in it, Addressed himself to His Majesty, affirming there were in all sixteen Papers, desiring to know what was become of the rest which was before the Council, and what was become of the Box of Treasonable Papers, and two or three hundred Letters. Adding, That *Mansel* had got together a company of Witnesses to disparage the Kings Evidence, and to palliate his Treasonable Practices, and desiring leave to ask him some questions, which being granted, he asked him, if he did not frequent a Club in *Westminster* Market ? whether he did not know one *Disney Lisse*, *English Grange*, and *Brown* ? whether he did not bring into the Club a Pamphlet, called, *A Word without Doors*, and read it publick to the Club ? whether he did not after the reading thereof, utter Seditious Words again His Royal Highness.

*Mansel* replied, He knew many of the Gentlemen he had named, that they were very honest Gentlemen, and good Subjects, and that all of them lived in *Westminster*, except Captain *Brown*, who had been Lieutenant to Major *Russel's* Troop of Horse, in His Royal Highnesses Regiment. But for all Treasonable discourse

course with them, or any other persons, he utterly disowned, and was thereupon commanded to call the rest of his Witnesses, who appearing, proved that there were no more Papers taken in the Chamber than what was before the Council; And Mr. *Bedford*, who lay with *Dangerfield* the night before the pretended discovery, and was to have been an Assistant in the management of the Plot, acquainted the Council, That after the searching the Colonels Chamber, and seizing the Papers there, he went to Mrs. *Celliers*, and told *Dangerfield* what an ill thing he had done, both in injuring Mr. *Mansel*, and likewise by ingaging him in so base and vile a business, desiring him therefore to discover and lay open the whole contrivance, and who it was that put him upon it; And that *Dangerfield* replied, He did not doubt but to come off well enough, since so great persons had ingaged him in it, &c. Mr. *Doiley* deposed, that he had prosecuted him at two several Sessions, held in the *Old Bayly*, for uttering false Guineys; to which *Dangerfield* replied, He was indeed twice prosecuted upon that account, but it was out of pure malice: And that for the second time, he had received His Majesties

sties Gracious Pardon : wherefore he hoped those Matters would not be remembered against him now, to the prejudice of his Evidence. The Earl of *Essex* demanded of him, who had solicited His Majesty for his Pardon ? he answered, Captain *Richardson* ; then his Boy Witness-  
 ned that he had Lodged at *Powis's* House, and had been several times at the Lord *Powis's* Lodgings at the *Tower* : That he had several times sent him with Letters and other Papers, to the Lord *Powis*, and that he had brought him back  
 Answers : That the Lady *Powis* had been several times at Mrs. *Celliers*, during the time that *Dangerfield* Lodged there, and particularly on the *Saturday* was seven night before, when she was alone with him in a Room, in private discourse, about half an hour. Then the Lord Chancellor asked him whether he had ever been with the Earl of *Shaftsbury* ? to which he replied, He had been several times with his Lordship, and had discoursed with him, repeating some of those things which had passed between them. You are in the mean time, saies the Chancellor, a fine Fellow, to come first to the King, then to the Lord *Powis*, and from thence to the Earl of *Shaftsbury's*,

*burys, and discover to one, what discourse you had with the other, and go with one Story to the Earl of Shaftsbury, and bring another to the Council; And indeed the business appeared so plain to the Board, that they committed him to Newgate, by the following Warrant.*

**T***Hese are in His Majesties Name, to require you to take into your Custody the person of Thomas Willoughby (which was the Name he then went by) herewith sent you, for forging Letters, importing High Treason, and fixing the same privately at Mr. Mansel's Chamber, to render him Guilty thereof without cause; And you are to keep him safe till he shall be delivered by due course of Law: for which, this shall be your Warrant.*

*Council-Chamber, Whitehall, October, 27th, 1679. To the Keeper of Newgate, or his Deputy.*

**A***Nd now the wickedness which had hitherto hovered in the Dark Caverns, began to be more and more exposed: for Mrs. Celliers House being searched, the whole Scheme of their Villanies was found hid in a Tub of Meal, they*  
*having*

having assured themselves that none would be so scrupulous as to search there: whereupon she was apprehended, and being examined concerning Mr. *Dangerfield*, she said she had entertained him upon no other account than to get in desperate Debts. However, being sent to the *Gate-House*, she presently dispatched away a Paper to him, telling him, That now her Life lay in his hands, and therefore directed him to confirm what she had said; That he was taken into her House only to get in bad Debts, &c. sending him withal Twenty Shillings in Silver, and a Guinney and two Books of Account, that so he might Conover, and be perfect in his Lesson. But taking Caution by the unfortunate Mr. *Coleman*, he resolved not to throw away his Life as he had done, nor patiently consent to be Hanged, to please the Conspirators. Wherefore he made a full discovery of the whole Matter, upon Oath before Sir *Robert Clayton*, then Lord Mayor of *London*; whereupon Sir *Robert* repaired to *Whitehall*, and gave an account thereof to His Majesty, who presently sent it to the Council, and *Dangerfield* was thereupon by order of Council brought before them, and was further examined by their Lordships,

Lordships, who thereupon committed  
 the Earl of *Castlemain* to the *Tower*, Mr.  
*Gadbury* to the *Gate-house*, Mrs. *Cellier*,  
 and Mr. *Regaut*, to *Newgate*, and the  
 Countess and others, into the Custody of  
 His Majesties Messengers: and the  
 whole Design was at several times unde-  
 niably proved before them, by innume-  
 rably concurring Circumstances, and  
 substantial Evidences, and the Conspira-  
 tors themselves confest the greatest part  
 of it to be true. But yet hoping to make  
 the best of it, and turn it off to the Lord  
*Shaftsbury*, and the rest of the Protestants,  
 whose ruin they thirsted for: their Ora-  
 cle *Gadbury*, pretended to make some  
 great discovery, in case His Majesty  
 would grant him his Pardon, which he  
 Graciously promised to do. But his  
 Lordship hearing thereof, and suspecting  
 that those who had endeavoured to ruin  
 him by a Plot, to charge him with Treason,  
 and had failed of accomplishing it,  
 that way would not scruple at attempt-  
 ing to attain their end, by false and feign-  
 ed discoveries thereof: desired that no  
 Pardon might pass the Seal for *Gadbury*,  
 until he had first been heard in Council,  
 whereby he wisely prevented that mis-  
 chief which was supposed to be designed  
 against



against his Lordship, by that *Jesuited*  
*Star-gazing Caballistical Whiffler*. That  
 which confirmed most men in their O-  
 pinion, that he had some design against  
 the Earl, was this, That although he  
 did shortly after receive the King's Gra-  
 cious Pardon, yet no discovery made by  
 him was ever heard of to this day.

But these things were scarce over  
 when another design to murder him  
 is discovered by *Francisco de Feria*, who  
 deposed at the Bar of the House of *Com-*  
*mons*, that being preferred to be Inter-  
 preter and Secretary of *Languages*, to  
 the Lord *Gasper, Abrew de Freitas* Am-  
 bassador in Ordinary from the Prince of  
*Portugal* to the King of *England*. The  
 Ambassador perswaded him to kill the  
 Earl of *Shaftsbury*, by throwing a hand-  
 Granado into his Coach, which he said  
 was easie to be done, when his Lordship  
 was travelling upon the Road into the  
 Country, which he did often.

What an heroick and magnanimous  
 Soul must he then be master of, that  
 could so bravely bare up against all those  
 boisterous Storms and continual Tem-  
 pests which were perpetually raised a-  
 gainst him by the art and malice of the  
*Popish Crew*. And that notwithstanding

M

those

those innumerable difficulties and dangers wherewith he was always surrounded, and which still threatned his ruine, the simple consideration of his own Innocence and Loyalty was able to maintain an undisturbed quiet, and a perpetual Serenity within him.

But however these frequent disappointments enraged, yet it did not discourage them from further Attempts against his Life and Honour; but rather added to their fury, and encreased their desire of revenge. The next endeavour therefore to prove that he the Earl of *Effex* and the Lord *Wharton* had assisted *Oates*, *Tongue*, and *Bedloe*, in contriving the *Popish Plot*. To which purpose they corrupted Mr. *Blood*, and prevailed with him to write a treasonable Letter to *Oates*, and then cause the Doctor's Papers to be searched and rummaged, in hope to find it there, and so to prove him to be a Confederate with his Lordship and other *Protestant Nobles*. But the Doctor sent the Letter to Sir *Joseph Williamson*, then Secretary of State, and thereby spoiled that Design, whereupon they sent one *Lewis* to his Lordship, to desire he would send by him the said *Lewis* some Directions to Dr. *Oates*, under

der his Lordship's own hand-writing, how he should manage himself in reference to the Plot ; but the Earl absolutely denied to have any thing: to do therewith: And having failed in this Project, they next procured young *Tongue*, Son to Dr. *Tongue*, to prove that his Father, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and *Oates*, invented the *Popish Plot*; Whereupon one of the Lords of the *Council* asked him, If they contrived *Coleman's* Letters too? To which he could make no reply; and indeed the whole business was so weak and ridiculous, that it effected nothing more than the depressing the *Wretch* that was to have been the Evidence of it under the weight of his own Guilt, he being committed to the *King's-Bench*, where he hath ever since remained.

Besides their publick Designs, they had several secret Projects and Artifices to accomplish his Ruine; As forging of his Hand, and other such like base and villanous Arts, as appears by their intercepting Letters directed to his Lordship; and after having incerted Treason in them, in a hand as near the Original as they could possibly counterfeit, transmitted them to such hands as would certainly acquaint our Ministers of State

therewith, but more especially a certain Gentleman who had commanded a Regiment of Horse in the Service of his late Majesty, for whose sake, and his present Majestie's, he suffered the loss of all that he had, writ to the Earl about relieving him against the Gout with which he was much afflicted, whose Letter was intercepted (the person that writ it, lived at that time in the *French King's* Dominions) and after they had added to it an account that the Writer was able to furnish the Earl with Forty thousand men from *France*, to oppose the *D. T's* Interest; it was then convey'd to some of the *French Ministers* of State, presuming they would send a Copy of it hither, but by an over-ruling Providence, the Letter was strangely return'd into the Gentleman's own hands, whereby the mischief they intended was prevented.

His Majesty having prorogued the Parliament, his Lordship together with the Earls of *Huntington*, *Clare*, *Stamford*, &c. the Lords *North* and *Grey*, *Chandos*, *Grey*, *Howard*, and *Herbert*, being introduced to his Majestie's Presence, by his Highness Prince *Rupert*, presented the following Petition and Adviceto His Majesty.

S I R

S I R,

**V** E are here to cast our selves at  
 your Majestys feet, being Ten  
 of the Peers of Tour Realm of England, and  
 in our own Names, and in the Names of se-  
 veral others of our fellow Peers, do humbly  
 beg, That Tour Majesty would consider the  
 great Danger Tour Royal Person is in, as  
 also the Protestant Religion, and the Go-  
 vernment of these Tour Nations.

We humbly pray, that in a time when  
 all these are so highly concerned, Tour Ma-  
 jesty will effectually use Tour Great Council  
 the Parliament.

S I R, Out of the deepest sence of Duty  
 and Loyalty to Tour Majesty, we offer it as  
 our humble Advice and earnest Petition,  
 that the Parliament may sit at the time ap-  
 pointed, and that Tour Majesty would be  
 Graciously pleased to give publick Notice and  
 Assurance thereof, that the minds of Tour  
 Majestys Subjects may be settled, and  
 their fear removed.

To this Petition and Advice His Ma-  
 jesty answered, He would consider of  
 what they had offered, and told them,  
 that he heartily wished all other people  
 were as solicitous for the peace and good  
 of the Nation as he was, and ever would

be. However he was pleased soon after to Prorogue the Parliament from the 26th. of *January*, till the 11th. of *November* following.

About this time his Lordship was visited with a violent and dangerous fit of Sickness, and his recovery was somewhat doubted of, but Heaven was pleased to spare him to be a further Scourge and Terrour to the *Papists*, those common *Pests* of *Christendom*, and sworn Enemies to His Majesty, and the *English* Nation.

The *Romanists* having tryed so many ways and different methods for accomplishing his Ruine, resolved to try a new Stratagem for the effecting thereof; *viz.* The tampering with *Dugdale*, to retract his Evidence concerning the *Popish-plot*, and endeavour to prevail with him to withdraw himself into some place beyond the Seas, and leave a Writing behind him wherein he was to retract all he had sworn against the *Papists*, and pretend that the occasion of his Retraction was an extream trouble and anguish of Conscience, for having so unjustly and wickedly injured the *Papists*, and procured the shedding of innocent blood; affirming that it was by the instigation of

of his Lordship, and other Protestants (of unblemished Loyalty to His Majesty) upon whom he was moreover to fix the *Odium* of a *Presbyterian* Plot, not only against the *Papists*, but against His Majesties Person and Government. But the mischief of it was, they had not then Debauched his Conscience, perswaded him to question the Truth of God's Omnipiscency, or wholly Erradicated the Belief of a Deity out of his mind, and thereby render him hardy enough to undertake so Barbarous a Work, without any kind of Hissitation. Wherefore being touched with some Remorse at so horrid a Villany, he gave an account of the business to his Lordship, and some others; and so that design suffered the same fate with the rest, and produced no other effect, than exposing the malice of his Enemies, and the informing him what he must live in a dayly expectation of, from those indefatigable wretches, and purchasers of Perjury, by offers of two Thousand Pounds, and promises of other Rewards and Gracitudes. A Sum so considerable, and Arguments so powerful and irresistible, that it would have been a rarity, much more amazing, and would infinitely have transcended any of those,

called, *The Seven Wonders of the World*, if they should alwaies have been so unhappy, as not to meet with some Profligate Villain or other, who would upon those considerations, engage to Swear whatsoever they should dictate, and even defie the Almighty, and storm Heaven it self to gain so immense a Treasure, and acquire a Fortune so far above what their Birth or Education ever gave them a Prospect of.

In *December*, 1680. he was present at, and assisted in the trying *William Viscount Stafford*, upon an Impeachment of the *House of Commons*, for Plotting and Conspiring with the Pope and his Emisaries to Murther the King, exterpate the Protestant Religion, and subvert the Government of these Kingdoms; and after a fair Tryal, his Lordship with the Majority of the Peers, found him Guilty of the Treason whereof he stood Impeached, upon which he received Sentence to be Hang'd, Drawn, and Quarter'd, the rigour whereof was remitted by the Gracious Pleasure of His Majesty; And not long after he was beheaded on a Scaffold erected for that purpose on *Tower-Hill*.

On the 10th. of *January*, His Majesty Prorogued the Parliament; and on the



18th. they were Dissolved by Proclamation, and a New one summoned to meet at *Oxford*, on the 21st. of the following *March*; which being looked upon by his Lordship, and divers others of the Nobility and Gentry, to be ominous, and attended with much hazard and danger, (and was afterwards really found to be so by some.) To prevent which, the Earl joyned with several Noblemen in presenting a humble Petition and Advice, full of Tenderness and Affection, Duty and Loyalty, to His Majesty's Person and Government; humbly requesting that the Parliament summoned to meet at *Oxford*, might be Graciously permitted to meet, and sit at *Westminster*. It was presented to His Majesty by the Earl of *Essex*, who acquainted the King with the design and intent of their Petition, in the following words.

*May it please Your Majesty,*

**T**He Lords here present, together with divers other Peers of the Realm, taking notice, that by your late Proclamation Your Majesty hath Declared an Intention of calling a Parliament at *Oxford*:

ford: and observing from Histories and Records, how unfortunate many such Assemblies have been, when called at a place remote from the Capital City; as particularly the Congress in Henry the Seconds time at Clarendon: Three several Parliaments at Oxford, in Henry the Thirds time; and at Coventry, in Henry the Sixths time, with divers others, which have proved very fatal to those Kings, and have been followed with great mischief to the whole Kingdom. And considering the present posture of Affairs, the many Jealousies and Discontents which are among the People, we have great cause to apprehend that the Consequences of the sitting of a Parliament now at Oxford, may be as fatal to Your Majesty and the Nation, as those others mentioned have been to the then Reigning Kings; and therefore we do conceive that we cannot answer it to God, to Your Majesty, or to the People, if we, being Peers of the Realm, should not on so important an occasion, humbly offer our Advice to Your Majesty; that if possible, Your Majesty may be prevailed with, to alter this (as we apprehend) unseasonable Resolution. The Grounds and Reasons of our Opinion, are contained in this our Petition, which we humbly present to Your Majesty.

*To the Kings most excellent Majesty.*

The humble Petition and Advice of the Lords undernamed, Peers of the Realm.

Humbly sheweth,

**T**hat whereas Your Majesty hath been pleased, by divers Speeches and Messages to Your Houses of Parliament, rightly to present to them the dangers that threaten Your Majesties Person, and the whole Kingdom, from the mischievous and wicked Plots of the Papists, and the suddain growth of a forreign Power; unto which no stop or remedy could be provided, unless it were by Parliament, and an Union of Your Majesties Protestant Subjects, in one Mind, and one Interest.

And the Lord Chancellor, in pursuance of Your Majesties Commands, having more at large demonstrated the said dangers to be as great as we, in the midst of our fears, could imagine them; and so pressing, that our Liberties, Religion, Lives, and the whole Kingdom, would certainly be lost, if a speedy provision was not made against them.

And

*And Your Majesty on the 21st. of April, 1679. having called unto Your Council many Honourable and Worthy Persons, and Declared to them, and to the whole Kingdom, That being sensible of the Evil Effects of a single Ministry, or private Advice, or forreign Committee, for the general Direction of Your Affairs, Your Majesty would for the future refer all things unto that Council, and by the constant Advice of them, together with the frequent use of Your great Council the Parliament, Your Majesty was hereafter resolved to govern the Kingdom: We began to hope we should see an end of our Miseries.*

*But, to our unspeakable grief and sorrow, we soon found our expectations frustrated; the Parliament then subsisting was Prorogued, and Dissolved, before it could perfect what was intended for our relief and security: And tho' another was thereupon called, yet by many Prorogations it was put off till the 21st. of October past; and notwithstanding Your Majesty was then again pleased to acknowledge, that neither your Person, nor your Kingdom, could be safe, till the Matter of the Plot was gone through: It was unexpectedly Prorogued on the 10th. of this Month, before any sufficient Order could be taken therein: All their just and  
pious*

*pious endeavours to save the Nation were overthrown, the good Bills they had been industriously preparing to Unite Your Majesties Protestant Subjects brought to nought: The discovery of the Irish Plots stifled: The Witnesses that came in frequently more fully to Declare that, both of England and Ireland discouraged. Those forreign Kingdoms and States, who by a happy Conjunction with us, might give a check to the French Powers, disheartned, even to such a despair of their own security against the growing greatness of that Monarch; as we fear may enduce them to take New Resolutions, and perhaps such as may be fatal to Us: the Strength and Courage of our Enemies, both at home and abroad encreased, and our selves left in the utmost danger of seeing our Country brought into utter desolation.*

*In these extremities we had nothing under God to comfort us, but the hopes that Your Majesty (being touched with the groans of your perishing People) would have suffered Your Parliament to meet at the day unto which it was Prorogued, and that no further interruption should have been given to their proceedings, in order to their saving of the Nation: But that failed us too, so then we heard that Your Majesty had been prevailed with to Dissolve it, and to call  
another*

another to meet at Oxford, where neither Lords nor Commons can be in safety, but will be dayly exposed to the Swords of the Papists, and their Adherents, of whom too many are crept into Your Majesties Guards. The Liberty of speaking according to their Consciences will be thereby destroyed, and the validity of all their Acts and Proceedings (consisting in it) left disputable. The straitness of the place no way admits of such a concourse of persons as now follows every Parliament: The Witnesses which are necessary to give Evidence against the Popish Lords; such Judges, or others, whom the Commons have impeached, or had resolved to impeach, can neither bear the charge of going thither, nor trust themselves under the Protection of a Parliament, that is it self evidently under the power of Guards and Souldiers.

The Premises considered, We Your Majesties Petitioners, out of a just abhorrence of such a dangerous and pernicious Council, (which the Authors have not dared to avow) and the direful apprehensions of the calamities, and miseries that may ensue thereupon; do make it our most humble Prayer and Advice, that the Parliament may not sit at a place where  
it

*it will not be able to Act with that freedom which is necessary; and especially to give unto their Acts and Proceedings that Authority which they ought to have amongst the people, and have ever had, unless impaired by some Awe upon them (of which there wants not presidents;) and that Your Majesty would be Graciously pleased to order it to sit at Westminster, (it being the usual place, and where they may consult with Safety and Freedom.*

*And Your Petitioners, &c.*

Monmouth,	Shaftsbury,
Kent,	Mordent,
Huntingdon,	Ewers,
Bedford,	Paget,
Salisbury,	Grey,
Clare,	Herbert,
Stamford,	Howard,
Essex,	Delamer,

**B**UT His Majesty resolving not to alter His Resolution for the Parliaments setting at *Oxford*, and the time of their meeting drawing near, the Members from all parts repaired thither, and apprehending

prehending themselves in danger of being exposed in a place so remote from *London*, to the Insolency of the *Papists*, upon the account of that Vigilency and Courage, wherewith they had prosecuted the Popish Plot in former Parliaments, they appeared there with a Guard, some of them, being accompanied either by their Tenants and Neighbours; some by the Freeholders by whom they were chosen, and many of them only by their own Domisticks; And to say the Truth, the whole number was so inconsiderable, that it served rather for Ornament than Strength, and could have afforded but little assistance, if the *Papists* had made an assault upon them, as was feared. Going thus attended to Parliaments, holden at places remote from the Royal City, hath alwaies been usual and customary, and accounted not only honest, but desent and honourable too, especially in times of difficulty and danger, when not only a Suspition, but unquestionable Evidence, and undeniable Proof of a design to destroy the King, murder His Subjects, and subvert the Government, renders it foolish and unsafe to do otherwise, least thereby the innocent and unwary, expose themselves

to



to the insolence and fury of their stronger Adversaries. But notwithstanding this antient and laudable Custom, it was looked upon at this time as an ill thing, and great improvement made thereof towards the effecting what had been formerly so often unsuccessfully attempted, as will appear by the sequel of this History.

The King having made preparations for His Journey to *Oxford*, went first to *Windsor*, and from thence to the University, being met upon the Border of the County, by the High Sheriff and his Attendance, and at *Wbateby* by the Lord *Norris*, Lord Lieutenant of the County, with a great Train of Gentry, and the two Troops of the County Militia, who conducted him to the East-Gate of the City, where he was received by the Mayor, and the rest of the Magistrates, and welcomed by the Recorder, in an elegant and florid Oration; Then the Mayor presented him with the Mace & Sword, which being return'd again, the Mayor attended with the Aldermen and Recorder, carried the Mace before His Majesty to *Christ Colledge-Gate*, from whence the King passing to His Lodgings, which were prepared for him in the *Colledge*, was

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received by the Bishop, and welcomed in a *Latin* Speech which he made on his Knees. And the next morning His Majesty was attended by the Vice-Chancellor, the Orator, and the rest of the Officers belonging to the University; The Orator making a Speech to the King in *Latin*, and to the Queen in *English*.

His Lordship and divers other persons, imitated those of other parts, and went to *Oxford*, accompanied likewise with several persons of their Neighbours and Acquaintance, who innocently offered to wait on them some part of the way, and others, throughout to *Oxford*.

On the 21<sup>st</sup>. the Parliament met at the *Convocation House*; The King told them he had not parted with His last *House of Commons*, had it not been for their unwarrantable proceedings; he commended to them the prosecution of the Plot, &c. Having ended his Speech, the Commons returned to their House to chuse themselves a Speaker, and unanimously made choice of Mr. *Williams*, who had been Speaker of the former Parliament; the choise being over, they presented him to His Majesty, and the Speaker Addressing himself to the King, acquainted Him, That the Commons

accord-

according to His Majesties command, had proceeded to choose them a Speaker, and to shew that they were not given to change, they had chosen him; and that he did according to their command, prostrate himself at His Majesties Feet to receive his pleasure, with a Head and Heart full of Loyalty to His Sacred Person; Armed with a settled Resolution, never to depart from His antient and well settled Government. The King having approved of the choice, and confirmed him for Speaker, the Commons withdrew, and repaired to their own House, and settled Elections, &c. On the 29<sup>th</sup> they entered upon the consideration of the Matter relating to the Bill, which had passed both Houses in the last Parliament, for repeal of the Act of the 35<sup>th</sup> of *Elizabeth*, but was not tendred to His Majesty for the Royal Assent; and resolved that a Messenger should be sent to the Lords, to desire a Conference thereupon.

Another Messlage was also ordered to be sent to the Lords, to put them in mind that they had formerly by their Speaker demanded judgment of High Treason at their Bar, against the Earl of *Dunby*, and therefore desired them to

appoint a day to give judgment against him upon their Impeachment.

The Impeachment of *Fitz-Harris* was next entered upon, in order whereunto his Examination being read in the House, they ordered it to be Printed, and that *Fitz-Harris* should be impeached at the Lords Bar, and a Committee appointed to draw up Articles against him.

The House ordered Sir *Lionel Jenkins* to carry up the Impeachment to the Lords, which he at first refused; but perceiving the Commons were ready to proceed against him for that Contempt, he complied, and went up and impeached *Fitz-Harris* at the Bar of the Lords House, in the Name of the Commons and People of *England*. The Impeachment of *Fitz-Harris* being thus delivered to the Lords, they rejected it, whereupon his Lordship and Eighteen Peers, entered their Protestation against their throwing of it out; The Commons likewise Voted it to be illegal, and the next Morning *March*, 28<sup>th</sup>. His Majesty sent for them into the *House of Lords*, and told them that their beginnings had been such, that he could expect no good of this Parliament, and therefore thought fit to Dissolve them, and accordingly the Chancellor by the

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Kings Command, Declared the Parliament Dissolv'd.

By this unexpected and suddain Dissolution, a final conclusion was put to all their Debates, and all their further examinations of, and prosecuting the Popish Plot, was terminated by a full Point.

The Parliament being thus Dissolv'd, the King took Coach immediately, and departed to *Windſor* the ſame day, and after a few hours ſtay, returned to *White-hall*, and the Earl likewise returned to *London*; having firſt left as a mark of his magnificence and bounty, a piece of Plate to *Baliol Colledge*.

With this Parliament we may conclude the Active part of his Lordſhips Life, for about that time the Scene alter'd and he becomes only paſſive in the remainder of his Life; in relating the Storms whereof I am fallen into ſuch a Laborinth of Plots, Sham-Plots, miſterious Intreagues, Subornations, and Perjuries, and confident Affirmations of moral Impoſſibilities, as no Age ever produced, or Hiſtory can parallel, ſo that it cannot be expected I ſhould Write an exact Hiſtory thereof; but the Reader muſt be content to let it remain as a conſiderable part of the Myſtery of Iniquity,

until such time as he to whom all things are open and naked, shall bless the World with a full and clear discovery of the secret. But as a commical Prologue to the intended Tragedy, a company of *Obscure Varlets, Irish Bogtrotters, Skip-kennels, and Indigent Extravagants*, who having profusely wasted their own Fortunes, would gladly imbrace any opportunity to repair them by the ruine of others; and treated each other with no less than the assurances of vast and mighty Fortunes, and being advanced to places of Profit and Honour: And some of them in a bravary, and to excite others to an imitation of them in their wicked Practices, chinks their Guineys, and exposes their Golden Rewards, affirming that so should be done to the Man who was beloved; with other encouragements and invitations to persuade and allure them to come over and labour at the work of Transubstantiating the Plot. And indeed to such a height of Ambition and vain Glory they arrived over, that they commonly discoursed of being advanced to Captains and Ensigns Places, Deanries and Prebendaries, and putting a mighty value upon themselves, scorned to think of less than great  
 Prefer-

Preferments, and as much Mony as they would demand.

Not long after the Dissolution of the *Oxford* Parliament, one *Brian Hans* came to his Lordships, pretending to be some Gentleman of Quality, and that he could make very considerable discoveries of the Popish Plot, and the Murther of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, and desired his Lordship in order thereunto to procure him a blank Pardon, being very unwilling as he pretended, to have his Name known, until he had his Pardon procured for him. The Earl, who was alwaies ready to serve His Majesty and the Protestant Interest; and supposing that this could be no inconsiderable Peach of Service to discover the Murther of the aforesaid Knight more fully than had been hitherto done, which must necessarily give a greater light into the Plot, he endeavoured to get him one, but it could not be obtained. And not long after this pretended Gentleman of Quality dwindled into a mean and obscure Wretch, and of a pretended Evidence of the real Popish Plot, degenerated into a blustering Witness of a fictitious Protestant one; For being apprehended, and carried before the Council, instead of discovering anything

about the Death of Sir *Edmond* ~~Bury~~ *Godfrey*, he accused his Lordship and others of having endeavoured to suborn him to do it. Whereupon Mr. *Rouse*, a Gentleman who had been some time employed by Sir *Thomas Player*, in paying off the Army which had been Disbanded not long before; and Mr. *College*, who had attended some of the Parliament Men to Oxford. And Saturday, July the 22. 1681. in the Morning his Lordship was apprehended by a Messenger, by Vertue of a Warrant from the Council, and his Papers all seized and carried to *Whitehall*, where the King likewise arrived from *Windsor*, about Ten of the Clock; and then he was examined before His Majesty and the Council, some of the Judges likewise were present. His Lordship knowing himself clear of what was laid to his charge, boldly affirmed, and solemnly protested his Innocency, adding as it was reported, That were he Guilty of those Crimes whereof he was accused, he was certainly a mad Man, and had thereby rendered himself more fit for *Bedlam*, than the *Tower*, whither upon the Sequel he was committed close Prisoner for High Treason, and conveyed thither by Water, in a *Barge*, and the



the King returned the same day to *Wind-  
ford*. And now the better to prepare  
peoples minds to believe what he was to  
be charged withal, the *Jesuites* and Con-  
demned Priests in *Newgate*, and some o-  
ther of the Popish Crew, privately dis-  
persed divers Hellish and Lying Pamph-  
lets, wherein they maliciously aspersed  
him with Conspiring Treason against His  
Majesty; one whereof which was some-  
what more impudent and mischievous  
than the rest, and was called, *Articles a-  
gainst the Earl of Shaftsbury*, was dispen-  
sed with some privacy and caution. The  
Articles were as follows:

I. That he had imagined to compass  
and procure the Death of the King, the Sub-  
version of the Government, and the known  
Laws of the Land, by reducing this Ancient  
Monarchy into a Republick.

II. That he used great endeavours to pos-  
sess the People that His Majesty was a Papist,  
and design'd to introduce Popery and Arbi-  
trary Power; and to that end had promoted  
several Seditious and Treasonable Libels  
against His Majesties Person and Govern-  
ment, purposely to bring His Majesty into an  
odium and Contempt with His loving Sub-  
jects.

III. That He endeavoured to Levy War  
against

against the King, both in England and Ireland, and bring Bloodshed and Confusion upon His Majesties good People, under pretence of prosecuting the Popish Plot, and preserving the Protestant Religion, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, as He and His Confederates have done in the late Rebellion.

IV. That he endeavoured to render the Church of England as Ridiculous as Popery, and Defam'd all His Majesties Officers both by Land and Sea; and all others, who out of a due sense of Loyalty adhered to the Crown styling them Tories, Tantivies, Masqueraders, &c. purposely to frighten them from their Duty, and wean them from their Sovereign, to adhere to Him and His Faction.

V. That He countenanc'd, harbour'd, and hired persons to Swear against the Queen, and His Royal Highness.

VI. That He procured several Sums of Money to be Raised and Collected to carry on these most abominable Designs.

And to represent him as monstrously unnatural and bloody as themselves, and render him hateful and detestable to all Men, who would be so Brainless, as to believe the silly and ridiculous Shams; the Articler adds in the close of his Label, this

strange

strange and improbable *Rodemantado*: that when the Sergeant at Arms apprehended him, he desired him to eat something before he appeared before the King and Council; whereupon saies the *Libeller*, his Lordship answered, *I have no Stomach to eat, unless I could get a Roasted Irish-Man.*

The Sessions of the Peace for London and *Middlesex*, beginning on the *Wednesday* following, he presented a Petition to the Court, desiring to be brought to a speedy Tryal, or else admitted to Bail. Upon the 8th. *Stephen Colledge* had an Indictment presented against him to the *Grand Jury*, who were all of them substantial Men; And after having heard all that could be said on both sides, they returned an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill, but being removed to *Oxford*, and tryed there, was found Guilty, and was accordingly Condemned and Executed; and a forged Paper presented and published by one *Thompson a Printer*, and supposed to be Writ by some *Jesuite*, who are alwaies so good at inventing of Shams, called, *His last Speech*, wherein he was made to confess all that he was charged with, although it afterwards appeared that he absolutely denied he was any way Guilty.

Guilty, affirming his Innocency to the last Breath. *August 13<sup>th</sup>* his Lordship presented another Petition to the Judges at the Sessions at the *Old-Bayly*, desiring that he might be either Tried or Bailed, pursuant to the Act of *Habeas Corpus*, to which the Court returned answer, That being charged with no Crime in that Court, and being Prisoners in the *Tower*, they could take no Cognizance of them, but they must seek their relief at the *Kings-Bench* Bar the next Term ; great preparations were made for his Tryal, and abundance of Witnesses procured, and Mr. *Samuel Wilson*, a Gentleman belonging to his Lordship, was likewise committed to Prison, for speaking some Treasonable words as was sworn by some of those Evidences. Now you must know this *Wilson* was the Gentleman whom his Lordship intrusted to attend the Council when his Papers were looked over, and take away those which were returned, and indorce the rest with his own Name ; and that the Paper said to be found in the Earls Closet, per-  
 reporting an Affosiation, was not indorced by him.

In the mean time, notwithstanding they had abundance of Witnesses, yet they

they desired to have some, whose port and figure in the World might procure them the greater Credit, and thereby render them the more capable of accomplishing their end in the Earls ruine ; And as they imagined , Fortune offered them the most likely and favourable opportunity that could possibly be desired or wished for, by the following accident. Captain *Henry Wilkinson*, a Gentleman that had alwaies ~~espoused~~ *espoused* the Royal Interest, and had hazarded his Life, and impaired his Estate in the service of his Prince ; having a desire to settle in the *Island of Carolina*, applied himself to the Proprietors for an employment in that Country, and had upon the account of his Loyalty to His Majesty, a promise made him of being employed as Governour under the Proprietors by his Lordship, who was one of the chief Proprietors, and to whom upon the account of his great judgment and discretion, the best had committed the whole management. The Captain having obtained this promise, hired two Ships to convey himself and Family, and what other persons were to go with him thither, whereof one of them was a Relation of mine. Upon this one *Booth*, a person well Born, but by  
his

his wicked and profligate Life, had wasted his Patrimony, lost all his employments, and rendered himself very indigent and necessitous, applied himself to the Captain, desired to go with him to *Carolina*; and withal perswaded a time for coming on Board, and engaged to bring with him about sixteen Servants, or upwards. This was easily promised, but not so easily performed: Servants and Companions enough he might have had, who had like himself, reduced themselves to Poverty and Distress, and would for that reason, have been glad of such an opportunity of being freed from the Scorn and Contempt of their acquaintance, and the Dread of a Goal; But how to pay for their passage, or employ them when they came there, he knew no more than the Man in the Moon. But after a little consideration, he resolved of the following adventure to supply that difficulty; He first forged Letters, as directed to him from persons of Quality, desiring him to buy them several Rich Goods of *Mercers, Drapers, Upholsterers, &c.* and then he went with those Letters to some Tradesmen, with whom he had for that purpose procured some kind of acquaintance,

tance, shews them the Letters, tells them  
 if they would use him well, he would  
 buy the Goods of them; you shall, saies  
 he, have your Mony as soon as I have  
 acquainted the persons that I have  
 bought the Goods, and can receive and  
 answer from them again. After this  
 manner he went to Mr. *Halford* a Mercer  
 in the Strand, with a pretended Letter  
 from the Lady *Ogle*, now Dutches of  
*Summerfet*; wherein he was ordered to  
 buy her several curious flowred Silks,  
 and other Rich Goods, to the value of  
 between Two and Three Hundred  
 Pounds, that Mr. *Halford* might give  
 the better Credit to the business, he pro-  
 cured the Gentlemans Brother to go  
 with him. And for your Brothers sake  
 Sir, said he, I have a very great kindness  
 for you, and would rather you should  
 take my Mony, than any other Man;  
 adding, That he expected shortly to be  
 Steward to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and then  
 he would endeavour to procure him the  
 Custom of that Family; But supposing  
 the Shop to be too publick, and therefore  
 not safe enough to treat in, he invited  
 him to the *Kings-Arms Tavern*, and there  
 discoursed the business. I have not all the  
 Goods you mention, in my Shop, saies

*Halford,*

*Halford*, but in a day or two, I can get them, pray do, saies he. You may be sure, *Halford* imagining he had gotten a brave Customer, applied himself with double diligence to procure the Goods against the time appointed; but the Merchant he bought them of, knowing they were Goods he did not usually deal in, especially such quantities, he asked him who they were for, whereupon *Halford* told him the whole Story, you had best have a care you are not cheated, saies he, I do not like the business, however you may do as you find occasion. At the time appointed he came to see the Goods, and liked them very well, and intended they should have been the cheapest that ever he bought. But *Halford* being thus cautioned, told him the Goods came to a great deal of Money, that he was a young beginner, and could not conveniently trust him for them, but if he would pay him ready Money, he would to oblige him, sell him cheaper than he should buy at any other Shop. Sir, said *Booth*, I am content, I will come and fetch the Goods, and pay you ready Money, but never came near him more. After the same manner he went to Mr. *John Ridges* an Upholsterer, who



who lives in *St. James's*, near *St. James's House*, and hath a Shop likewise in *Long-Lane* in the City, but came off with the like success. My design of brevity will not permit me to mention all his tricks of this Nature, nor how he served the *Taylor in Field-Lane*.

These disappointments rendered him unable to perform his promise to the Captain, and wholly diverted his thoughts from *Carolina*, accounting it a vain thing to go thither, being thus unhappily disappointed of his *Cargo*. And the Captain being so disappointed by him and others of his passengers, and having had two Ships lye so long at his own charges to attend them, had thereby Contracted some Debrs, for which he was Arrested, and his Ship and Goods seized on; when he was first Arrested he was sent to the *Counter*, but quickly after removed himself to the *Kings-Bench*. This accident created new thoughts in *Booth's* working Brain, and put him upon a New Project for the repairing of his broken Fortunes, and the making himself amends for his late disappointments. The Earl of *Shaftsbury* committed the other day to the *Tower* for High Treason, and *Wilkinson*, who

was upon his commendation to have gon Deputy Governour of *Carolina*, in the *Kings-Bench* for Debt; And can I contrive to get no advantage thereby? Yes, in spight of *Fate*, and *Maugre* all the Powers of *Heaven* and *Hell*, I will attempt it, I will set up for an Evidence my self, and will so mannage the matter, that I will procure him to be one too: his poverty and loss, and the sorrows of a Goal, will undoubtedly dispose him to a compliance with my motion. But therein the mercenary wretch reckoned without his Hoasts, and found himself woefully deceived in the idle imaginati-on, that every Mans Conscience was as much viciated and depraved as his own, and would adventure upon the most vile and abominable practices whatsoever, in hope thereby to free themselves from those pinching necessities which they were involved in, and by failing in that enterprize, learned the true difference between being impoverished by the want of success in Trade or Merchandice, and the being undone by Profuseness and Debauchery.

Before he adventured to Address himself to the Captain about the business, he sent others to brake the Matter to him,

him, relating the particular Circumstances the Captain was at that time under-  
 and instructing them how to behave  
 themselves towards him. Being thus in-  
 structed, *October 8th. 1681.* *Bains* visi-  
 ted the Captain in the *Kings-Bench*, where  
 after some Complements and Preparatory  
 Discourse, to make way for, and dispose  
 the Captain to comply with what he had  
 to offer, he proceeded to tell him that  
 he must needs know something of the  
 Earl of *Shaftsbury's* Design against the  
 King, and perswading him to discover it  
 to him; and promised if he would do so,  
 he would procure him a Pardon, and a  
 great Reward: The Captain answered,  
 He knew nothing by his Lordship but  
 that he was a very Loyal Person. So  
 soon as he was gone, the Captain ac-  
 quainted Major *James* with what *Bains*  
 had offered, and the Major presently  
 took his Pen and Ink, and wrote it down  
 in his Pocket Book. Two or Three days  
 after, *Booth* adventured to try his own  
 Fortune, and that he might prove more  
 successful than his fore-runner, procured  
 leave for the Captain to go out of the  
 Prison to *Booth's* Lodging, at Mr. *Waver's*  
 in the *Rules*, where they entertained him  
 with a Noble and Splendid Treat: and

assured him, if he would be an Evidence against the Earl, he should have 500 *l.* per. ann. settled upon him and his Heirs, as a Reward, or if he liked a 1000 *l.* in ready Mony better, he should have so much paid him down; and finding him still untractable, they perswaded his Wife to use her Interest with him, and endeavour to prevail with him, and work him to a compliance with what they desired, telling her she might thereby be made for ever. But when all this, and many other contrivancies failed them, they gave in an Information of High Treason against him to the King and Council, by whose order he was brought before them, and straitly examined concerning what he knew of a Plot against the King, and to have seized on His Person at *Oxford*. The Captain persisted in his own Innocency, and affirmed he knew no such thing by the Lord *Skaftsbury*, or any other: Then *Booth* swore High Treason against him, and deposed that *Wilkinson* was to have been Captain of a Troop of Horse consisting of Fifty Men, which were to be employed in seizing the King at *Oxford*, when the Parliament sat there: and to gain the greater Credit to his Oath, and make the thing more probable,

ble, he affirmed himself was Listed under him as one of them; although to my knowledge, and the knowledge of many more, The Gentleman at that very time when the Parliament met at Oxford, and this was pretended to be done, was busily employed in the aforesaid Affair of providing for his Voyage to *Carolina*.

The Captain upon this Deposition, was committed back again to the *Kings-Bench* Prison, where he acquainted the Major with what had passed at the Council, and he Writ that down likewise as he had done the rest; and the Captain willing to expose the Villany, and prevent the mischief of his mercenary Breath, published an account of the whole Matter to the World, to which I refer the Reader for further satisfaction.

His Lordship having continued in the *Tower* from *July*, till the latter end of *November*, without obtaining a Tryal, His Majesty then issued out a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*, to be held at the *Old-Bayly* on the 24th. of that Month, when an Indictment of High Treason against his Lordship was preferred to the *Grand Jury*, summoned upon that occasion which was the most substantial of any that had been known for a long time before.

before. The Court being set, and the Jury sworn, the Witnesses gave in the like Evidence to the Court as they had formerly done to the Council. They generally swore much to the same purposes, and *Booth* was one of the chief Evidences, who declared upon Oath, that the Earl told him, That he and others had considered with themselves, it was necessary for them to have Guards at *Oxford*; and that he had for that reason provided Fifty Gentlemen, and had intrusted Captain *Wilkinson* with the command and management of them; that he himself was Listed as one of them, (yet could name none of the rest) and that he had thereupon bought himself a very good Stone-horse, with other Accoutrements for the said Service; And that Captain *Wilkinson* promised to furnish his Man with a Horse. Now, that the World may the better judge of the truth or falshood of what this Man swore in the face of so great an Assembly, and from thence argue the validity of the other Evidences, I have transcribed *Verbatim* an Advertisement, which was thereupon published the next Week in *Janeway's Intelligence*, Number 65.

Whereas

**W**Henceas upon Thursday last, an Information was preferred to the Grand Jury at the Old-Bayly, against the Right Honourable the Earl of Shaftsbury, and whereas Mr. Booth was produced as one of the Evidence, who swore in open Court, That Captain Wilkinson was engaged with the said Earl against His Majesty and the Government, and that the said Captain was to command a Troop of Horse to be mounted with Fifty Gentlemen, and that the said Mr. Booth had Listed himself as one of the Troop. Also the said Mr. Booth made Oath, that he had bought himself a good Stone-horse, and other Accoutrements for the said Service, and Captain Wilkinson was to furnish his Man with a Horse.

This is therefore to give Notice, That if any one can make it appear, that Mr. Booth bought any such Horse, with his Marks and Colour, and who he bought him of, above March last, or that he had any such Horse within that time, and what Stable he was kept at, shall have upon good proof made thereof to the said Captain Wilkinson, Four Guineys paid him for a Reward of his pains.

Also if any person can make appear That the said Captain Wilkinson hath bought or had any Horse, Gelding, or Mare, for these

Two Years last past, or ever hath been upon the back of any for the same space of time, saving one Gelding which he borrowed to Ride to Wickam, when the Members of the last Parliament went to Oxford; Of that ever Captain Wilkinson hath been nearer Oxford these Twenty Years, than the said Town of Wickam, upon proof thereof, he shall have Five Guineys for his Reward.

Henry Wilkinson.

**I**T's worthy of every Mans consideration, that this was not delayed till the thing was worn out of mind, but Published whilst it was yet hot and fresh in every Mans Memory; And that therefore if any such Horse had been bought and kept by Booth, either the person who sold him, or those who were present at the buying of him, or the Inn-Keeper where he stood, or the Ostler that looked to him, or some one or other who must undoubtedly have seen him Ride, or at least the person to whom he afterwards sold him, would certainly either out of a Principle of Love and Loyalty to His Majesty, to detect the impudence of the Captain



Captain, in Publishing this Declaration to vindicate the Honour and Reputation of *Barb*, to despise the Earl and render him the more Guilty, or else out of Love and Desire of the Five Guineys, have appeared and given Evidence thereof. The same may be said of the Captain's Horse, and therefore it must be granted, that neither the one nor the other had any Horse at all: and if so, how improbable a Story it is, That the Captain should command a Troop of Horse, when at that time he had not a Horse to Ride on, nor never had been in 20 years, at the place where this Troop was to be commanded; And yet upon the Evidence of this Man and others of the like temper, some Men would have had his Lordship found Guilty, and Convicted of no less Crime than High Treason, railing against, and vilifying the *Grand Jury*, for doing otherwise. After a full hearing of all that the Witnesses had to say, the *Jury*, thought themselves obliged to return an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill, which occasioned a general joy and satisfaction, as plainly appeared by the many Bone-fires which were that Night made almost in every Street, and at several Country Towns, upon hearing the News thereof.

The

The Earl being thus cleared by the *Grand Jury*, moved to be discharged, but could not obtain it, till 13 of *Feb* following, and then both he and several others who were Prisoners upon the account of this imaginary Plot were released; And having thus gained his Liberty he Arrested several persons; whereof some of them were Evidences against him in an Action of *Conspiracy*, and one *Graddock* and others, in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, but was not able to bring any of them to a Tryal. For on the 4<sup>th</sup> of *May*, being the first day of the Term, *Graddock*, whose Tryal was expected to be brought on first, moved by his Council, that the Tryal might not be in *London* or *Middlesex*, but in some other Country; upon which motion the Court ordered, That on the *Fryday* following, the Earl should shew cause, why it should not be Tryed in another Country. Accordingly his Lordship appeared in Court himself, and Declared it was his desire to have it Tryed by an indifferent *Jury*, but only desired to have it Tryed that Term by a *Middlesex Jury*; asserting, That an indifferent *Jury* might as well be had there, as in any Country in *England*. On the 12<sup>th</sup> the like motion was made

made in the behalf of *Graham* whereupon his Lordship finding he could not have it tryed in *London*, and not willing it should be tryed in any other County, in regard an Address of Abhorrence against a certain Paper said to be found in his Lordships Clofet, importing an Association was preferr'd in most Counties, declared, That since he could not have the undoubted Priviledge of a Peer, to lay his Action in any County in *England*, he would remit it at present, and wait till he had a better opportunity to revive it.

After this, his Lordship continued at his house in *Aldersgate-street* until the *November* following, and then he went over to *Holland*. The Seas were somewhat Tempestuous, and some who went over in company with the same Ship were cast away; but the Providence of God ordered That to save his life, which is often the loss of others; viz. An unskilful Pilot, who being not well acquainted with the Haven, and withal somewhat timorous, would not be perswaded to venture in till he had a calmer Sea. As soon as he arrived, and was known, he was visited by some of the States and others of the greatest Quality,

Quality, who welcomed him into that Country, and Congratulated his having so happily escaped the danger of the Seas.

The Earl not long after his Arrival, took a spacious House in *Amsterdam*, where he intended to reside; he was to pay for it a yearly Rent of an Hundred and fifty pounds *per annum*, but before the House was furnished and fitted for his use, his usual Desteemper, the Gout, seized him, and handled him with great violence for some days, and then it began to wear away, and the Earl was indifferently recovered, but suddenly and unexpectedly returning again, and getting into his Stomach, he fell into a dangerous Relapse, which proved mortal, and terminated in his Death. He discovered in the time of his Sickness a bundance of patience, and an admirable temper of mind, yielding an intire submission to the Divine Will, and solacing his Soul in the Contemplation of that Transcending Glory and Happiness whereinto he was passing, and wherein he should for ever remain free from the Malice of ambitious and aspiring Favourites, and secure from the fatal Consequence of the poylonous and infectious Breaths,

Breaths, of all mercenary Villains. He expired in the Arms of a Reverend Divine, and will certainly prove as great and as universal a Loss as has happened to *England* in many years.

He died at *Amsterdam*, January 21. 1682. Or rather like the fairest Fruit, which being ripened by Nature, and arrived at its perfect Maturity, falls of its own accord. So this Nobleman being arrived at a full Age, was with the more facility and ease shaken down by Death, and glided into the Grave without compulsion in the Sixty second year of his Age; during the time of his Sicknes, he was frequently visited by several Persons of Quality, and some Lords of the States, and others who did not visit him in person, sent often to see him, and enquire of his Condition; and when he was dead, many of the States, and divers other Gentlemen put themselves into Mourning, and ordered that his Corps should be exempted from all Toll, Fees, and Customs in every place it should be carried thow within their Dominions, in order to its passage to *England*: His Body was first wrapp'd in Sear-cloath, and then in Lead, all but his Head and Face, whereon he had

had nothing, save one of the Perrywigs he used to wear in his Life-time, and in that manner he was laid in a rich Coffin, in the stead whereof, just over the Earl's Face was placed a Crystal Glass, whereby every one that pleased might view his Face; which to the admiration of all that saw it, appeared as fresh and beautiful as when he was living; nor was there any considerable alteration to be discerned therein. The Ship which Transported him to *England*, was hung with Mourning, and adorned with mournful Streamers and Escuchions, and being Landed at *Pool* in *Dorsetshire*, the Gentlemen of the County, to shew the extraordinary respect they had to his Lordship, and although they were not invited, yet they got together and went in a body to meet the Corps, and accompany'd it to his ancient Seat at *Wimbourn St. Giles's*, where he was decently and honourably Interred, and will have a stately Monument erected over him.

He made his Countess, Sir *William Cooper, &c.* Executors of his Will, wherein he gave very liberally to his Grand-Son the Lord *Ashley*, and Intailed the whole Estate upon him after the death of his Son the present Earl of *Shaftsbury*.  
And

And as he had formerly been the making of several of his Servants and others by his Liberality, so he was no less bountiful at his Death, having left very considerable Legacies to his Servants, especially those who were with him in *Holland*; besides several Gifts to pious and charitable uses.

And having thus traced this Nobleman from the Cradle through all the Labyrinths and Vicissitudes of his Life, to the Hour of his Death, and from thence to his Envied Grave. I shall conclude this Tract with his Character; a Character so extraordinary and rare, that it will certainly deserve, and therefore justly command the Admiration of all men.

But I will first insert the Elegy and Character of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, where with the Author of his Life concludes his History thereof.

And

Great Heart! who taught thee to  
 die,  
 Death yielding thee the Victory,  
 Where took'st thou leave of life?  
 How could'st thou be so far from fear,  
 But sure thou diest, and quit'st the state  
 of Flesh and Blood before that fate;  
 Else what a Miracle was wrought,  
 To triumph both in flesh and thought,  
 I saw in every stander by  
 Pale Death, Life only in thine Eye:  
 The Legacy thou gav'st us then,  
 We'll sue for, when thou diest agen.  
 Farewel, Truth shall this Story say,  
 We died, Thou only livest that day.

Thus died that Knight who was  
 Spain's Scourge and Terroure, and Gon-  
 dimer's Triumph, whom the whole Na-  
 tion pitied, and several Princes inter-  
 ceded for. Queen Elizabeth's Favourite,  
 and her Successors Sacrifice; a Person  
 of so much Worth, and so great Inter-  
 est, that King James would not exe-  
 cure him without an Apology; One of  
 such incomparable Policy, that he was  
 too hard for Essex, was the Envy of  
 Leicester, and Cicill's Rival, who grew  
 jealous of his excellent Parts, and was  
 afraid



afraid of being supplanted by him. His Head was wish'd on the Secretarie's Shoulders, and his Life valued by some at an higher Rate than the *Infanta of Spain*, though a Lady incomparably excelling in both the Gifts of Mind and Body.

Authors are perplex'd under what *Topick* to place him, whether of States-man, Sea-man, Souldier, Chymist, or Chronologer; for in all these he did excell, he could make every thing he read or heard his own, and his own he could easily improve to the greatest Advantage. He seem'd to be Born to that onely which he went about, so dexterous was he in all his Undertakings in Court, Camp, by Sea, by Land, with Sword, and with Pen.

The Earls person was somewhat small but very comely, God and Nature having distributed in the framing thereof an exact agreeableness, and an equal proportion to every Part and Member. But as the smallest Cabinets usually inclose the Richest Jewels, so his little Body inclosed

closed a great and vastly Capacious Soul;  
 the Virtues and Perfections whereof as  
 far transcended the generality of the  
 offspring of *Adam*, as Gold exceeds Sil-  
 ver, or Diamonds transcend Pebles in  
 value; He had a courageous and un-  
 daunted Mind, a deep Judgment, and a  
 quick and ready Apprehension; he was  
 Religious towards God, Loyal to his  
 Prince, True to his Country, Faithful to  
 his Friends, Charitable to his Enemies,  
 Liberal to the Poor, Chaste in his Af-  
 fections, and made the keeping of his  
 Solemn Contracts in Marriage, Sacred  
 and Inviolable, and the preserving his  
 Chaste Soul free from Pollution, a con-  
 siderable part of his Religion. He was  
 Courteous and Affable in his Carriage to-  
 wards all Men, Sociable and Free in his  
 Converse; yet so wonderfully reserved  
 as to any of his great Designs and Pro-  
 jects, that he never revealed his Inten-  
 tions to the nearest Relations, or the most  
 intimate Friends, which made him so ex-  
 traordinary usefull to His Majesty in the  
 late Times, and rendered him capable of  
 ordering and disposing all publick Acti-  
 ons and Councils, so that they naturally  
 tended

tended towards his Restoration. 'Twas his close and reserv'd temper, that rendered the penetrating into his Sentiments and Intentions, a work so intricate and perplexing, that the greatest diligence of the many Spies who had their Eyes constantly fix'd upon, and perpetually watched and pried into his Actions, were not able to effect it; and made it a Task too hard and difficult, even for *Cromwel* himself to perform. It was that which rendered those who undertook it unable to prove him Guilty of a Plot, wherein he was really engaged, and was a principal promoter and contriver thereof; (*Viz.*) The rising of *Sir George Booth*. And this close and reserved temper, strongly argues his Innocency in the late charge of Treason; for can any Man in his right Senses imagine, that the Earl who had till now been so reserved and private in all his Designs, even to near Relations, noble Personages, and familiar Friends; should all on a suddain, relinquish his constant and avowed Practice, and transform himself into a perfect Changeling, by freely discovering that he designed no less than Rebelling against his Sovereign;

raigi; The levying Men, the forming  
 of an Army, and deposing the King, and  
 thereby put himself into the Power, and  
 expose his Life and Honour to the mercy  
 of Six or Eight needy and mercenary  
 Fellows? That he should do so, will ap-  
 pear very improbable, if we reflect upon  
 the temper of the Earl, and the constitution  
 of the Men who pretended to such a fa-  
 miliarity with him, and insight into his  
 Designs; unless we can suppose that the  
 longer he lived, the more foolish he  
 grew; or that the more experience he  
 had of the endeavours of the *Fellows* to  
 effect his Ruine, by fixing the Guilt of  
 Treason upon him, the more careful he  
 would be to furnish them with Witnesses,  
 to prove and make good their Charge.  
 He was such a Proficient in Wisdom and  
 Policy, that he seem'd like a *Second So-  
 lomons*, and so clear an understanding of  
 the Mysteries both of Law and Divinity,  
 that he could easily, and with great rea-  
 diness, resolve the most difficult *Que-  
 ries*, and discuss the greatest Mysteries  
 and Critical Niceties thereof. Which  
 made *Dr. Ward*, Bishop of *Salisbury*  
 who held an intimate Correspondence

gained the forming  
with him, delight in his Converse, and  
value his acquaintance at a high rate;  
And so did Sir Matthew Hailes, Lord  
Chief Justice of the Kings Bench; and  
many more, both Lawyers and Divines,  
who had the happiness to be acquainted  
with him. And occasioned His Majesty,  
as it is said, upon the being informed of  
his deciding a very difficult Case when  
he was Chancellor, to affirm, as in a  
Baptism, That he had a Chancellor,  
who was Master of more Law than all  
His Judges, and was possessed of more  
Divinity, than all his Bishops.

Non was he less skilled in the Myster-  
ies of Trade and Merchandise, where-  
in he projected and accomplished sever-  
al great things, as well for the benefit  
of others and the good of the Publick, as  
the enriching of himself.

But in nothing did he more excell,  
than in the steadiness and evenness of  
his Temper, not valuing or exalting  
himself upon the account of Court Pre-  
ferments or popular Applause. For ha-  
ving been a considerable Agent in ac-

accomplishing His Majesties Restoration,  
 he assisted in Conducting Him back  
 from his Banishment to the Possession  
 of his Crown and Kingdom. And as a  
 Reward of his Loyalty, was highly ad-  
 vanced in the Opinion, and Dignified  
 with the Favour of his Sovereign. And  
 his Temples deservedly Increas'd with a  
 flourishing Coronet by the Hand of Ma-  
 jesty; By whom he was rais'd to the  
 very Top and Pinacle of Honour, pla-  
 ced in the Highest Seat of Justice, and  
 Enrich'd with a Power to distribute  
 Judgment and Equity to the Nation:  
 Glories enough to have Daz'd a Soul  
 less steady than his, and swell'd it with  
 Pride and Arrogancy; Whilst he as-  
 cended the several Steps to Honour, and  
 mounted to the Highest Seat of Digni-  
 ty, with a becoming Gravity, and an  
 admirable Compos'dness, and Equality  
 of Mind.

Nor did all that Sublimity and Gran-  
 dure wherewith he was Invinc'd, be-  
 get any kind of Haughtiness in him, or  
 make him Treat those with Scorn and  
 Contempt that mov'd in a lower Sphere.

For

For you might have seen him when  
 Shining in the very Meridian of his  
 Glory, and arrived at the Achme of  
 Power and Authority, with a wonder-  
 full Humility and Condescension, stop  
 to Relieve the Complaint of the mean-  
 est Supplicant, and with an unwearied  
 Diligence, patiently hearing the Cause  
 of the Poorest, and do them Justice, and  
 Relieve them when Oppressed, as soon,  
 and with as much Pleasure as he would  
 the Rich and the Honourable.

But that which is yet more Admira-  
 ble and Astonishing, He descended  
 from the height of Glory with a per-  
 fect Unconcernedness, and laid down  
 the Ensigns of his Grandure with a smil-  
 ling Countenance, whereby he suffered  
 an Eclipse of his Honour, without any  
 Diminution of his Brightness, and the  
 divesting him of his Ensigns, deprived  
 him not of one single Ray of his Lustre;  
 but with the Heart of an Ancient Ro-  
 man he dismounted the Curul without  
 the least Disturbance or Regret, and  
 discovered them; and in his late Im-  
 prisonments, and the Reproaches and  
 Calumnies

Calumnies wherewith he hath been  
 sufficiently Loaded ; a Noble Soul firm-  
 ly fixed in his own Worth, and shining  
 like the Sun with a perpetual Equality  
 of Light without suffering any manner  
 of Decrease or Abatement of his Lustre  
 and Brightness ; And thereby gave suf-  
 ficient Demonstration that he was,

PAR, SINE, PARI.

# ELEGY

Was written by an Ingenious Per-  
 son, to the Honour of the Learned

THE Right Honourable John Mordaunt  
 Esq; who died the 10th of June 1680  
 in the 45th Year of his Age  
 And who was buried the 12th of the same  
 Month in the Church of St. Andrew's  
 near the Strand  
 By Mr. John Mordaunt  
 Son of the said John Mordaunt  
 Esq; and of the same Family  
 As also by Mr. John Mordaunt  
 Son of the said John Mordaunt  
 Esq; and of the same Family  
 As also by Mr. John Mordaunt  
 Son of the said John Mordaunt  
 Esq; and of the same Family



been  
 a Noble Soul firm-  
 and shining  
 with a perpetual Educaty  
 reflecting any manner  
 of his Justice

Soon after the News of  
 his Death owned at London,  
 this following

# ELEGY

Was written by an Ingenious Per-  
 son, to Illustrate the Greatness  
 of his Loss.

**T**HE Busie Statesmen who by Toyls unblest,  
 Torment themselves to give their Country  
 Those publick great First-Movers of the State, rest,  
 Who almost turn the mighty Wheels of Fate,  
 Roll the vast Stone like Sylyphus in vain;  
 Whilst Deaths last Call ends a whole Ages Pain.  
 The Graves long Rubicon must All pass o'er,  
 Whence launching Cæsars can return no more.

Farwel,

Farewel, Great Shaftsbury! Times Sythe can  
(stretch

Where malice, sword, and axes ne'er could reach  
Thy Life, Great Statesman, stood in Fate so high,  
That thou by nought but Heaven's own Hand

Yes, Heaven alone compiles thy Funeral Ode!  
Less than the Sun the Phoenix shall not burn.

What did wise Solon, or Lycurgus see  
Lycurgus Did like thee, an Exile too.

And whilst proud Belgia thy Bones Entombs,  
And triumphs at the Glory it assumes,  
Belgia, who in thy Fate has now done more  
Than all her Trumps or Oppams could before.  
Belgia has vanquish'd more in thy one Grave  
Than all the Wounds her Thunder ever gave.

Sleep then thou Activ'st of Mankind: Oh make  
Thy last low bed, and Deaths long Requiem take,  
Thou who whilst living kept'st the World awake.  
Oh may thy Funeral Rites walk that large  
Till to thy Western-shore thy Loss resound; (round,  
Till Carolina shall in Mourning stand,  
With all the Cypress of a Widdow'd Land.

Let Fools and Knaves through their false Opticks  
Thy Spots, and beto all thy Brightness blind;  
Let Envy all her monstrous Forms suggest,  
And lodge the Raven in the Eagles Nest.

Let 'em rail on, and vent their hurtless Gall,  
Whilst Shaftsbury's Renown surmounts 'em all.  
From his clear Fame the dissolv'd Clouds shall  
And leave the Earthly Vapours all below. (throm,

Yes

Yes Mighty Man, lay thy great Reliques down,  
Thou Idol of the Croud, Friend of the Crown;  
Shakespeare in popular Arts and Hearts so learn'd,  
As with his Weight the Scale of Nations turn'd:  
To him the Kingdoms Genius bended low; (Foe.  
The Thrones best Friend, Romes formidablest  
If the best Gifts which the kind Stars dispense,  
The highest Prodigies of Wit and Sense,  
For Immortality Foundations lay;  
No Greater Soule ere lodg'd in Walls of Clay.  
Swiftly his restless Orb of Fire went round,  
And Light and Warmth we from his Influence  
His kindest Rays and temperate Heat found.  
The Protestants still favour'd Climates met:  
There his best Aspect smil'd; whilst Rome alone  
Felt all the Fury of his Torrid Zone.

This was the Cause did such great Foes engage  
With such keen Malice, and such Mortal Rage  
For this so high the Roman Vengeance boyls  
With Fires more hot than their Old Smithfield  
(Piles.

But Heaven's kind Call has all their Engines crost,  
Heav'n that has lodg'd thee on that safer Coast,  
Whence thou lookst down and seest thy mighty  
(Hunter's lost.

EPI-

Books lately Printed  
by Thomas Maitland  
SUN IN THE FOUNTAIN  
E P I T A P H

**U**nder this Stone does Sleeping lye  
All that was Earth of Shalisbury  
But Funeral-Tears and weeping  
Infallibility denies.  
Whilst his Wife & Death's change  
The Subject of a Jubilee.  
A more Sworn Foe to Roman Pride  
Not Hannibal himself e'er did.  
For which his Deathless Fame below  
His Soul above — His Soul — Ah, no!  
From Heav'n's lock out too sure, if they  
Who succeed Peter keep the Key.  
Damn'd so Hell's hottest burning Sea;  
If the Pope's Curse can do the Feat.  
If Papal Rage and Roman Spight  
For any but themselves Hell-fire can light.

Winches to many of them.  
An Historical Account of the Heroick  
Life and Magnanimous Actions of the  
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Bucks of Monmouth, Containing an Ac-  
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mous Instances of Gods Providences, in  
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Achievements in *Flanders*, and *Scotland*,  
his

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By the Absence of the Author, and the Over-sight of the  
Printer, these faults have escaped the Press.

**T**itle ad part, read Raleigh & Reddiss, line 4. r. Popish,  
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